

Phil. A Westcott
VINDICATION
OF THE
ORDINATIONS
OF THE
Church of England.

IN WHICH
It is Demonstrated that all the Es-
sentials of Ordination, according to the
Practice of the Primitive and Greek Churches,
are still retained in our Church.

IN ANSWER
To a Paper written by one of the
Church of Rome to prove the Nullity of our
Orders; And given to a Person of Quality.

The Second Edition.

L O N D O N :

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IMPRIMATUR

*Hic Liber, cui Titulus (A Vindication of the
Ordinations, &c.)*

*Guil. Jane R. P. D. Hen. Episc. Lond. à
Sacris Domestticis.*



THE

P R E F A C E.

THE Agents of the Church of Rome studying to accommodate their Religion to every Man's taste and inclinations, use their endeavours with all persons, in those things wherein they think they may most likely succeed. If they find some that love to live at their ease, and to reconcile their hopes of pardon, and Heaven with a lewd life, then they offer to secure them by slight confessions, easie Penances, cheap Pardons, and Indulgences, and the communication of the merits of other persons: If they fall on others of a sower composition, the severeties of some Religions Orders and unmerciful Penances are laid before them: If they meet with those that can easily believe every thing that is told them with much assurance, then many Miracles and other wonderful Stories are mustered up: If others seem not so tractable and credulous, then they study to shew them there is no certainty at all about Religion; if all their Tradition be not believed: And so they can but shake them from our Church, they care not whether such doubts may drive them, were it headlong to Atheism: If they find others that are fanciful and Enthusiastical in their Religion, then they tell them of Visions, Raptures, and Ecstasies, without number: Or if they fall on others that love the order and gravity of the Church, then they think the Game is easie and sure, they tell them of the Antiquity, Universality, and continued Succession of their Church, and of the novelty, the narrowness, and want of Succession in ours. And though the fallaciousness of these Objections have been so oft laid open, that by this time it might have been reasonably expected men of ingenuity and probity should have been ashamed of continuing them; yet these Gentlemen are proof against all discoveries. The Reader will easily discern how guilty the Writer of the following Paper is, of going in the beaten tract of asserting

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things confidently, which, if he be a man of learning, he must needs know they have no strength in them: And if he be not acquainted with Ecclesiastical Learning, (which in Charity to him I am bound to believe) it is very presumptuously done of him to give out Papers of this Importance, in a point that no man ought to engage in but he that has studied Antiquity to some competent degree. For to charge any person, much more a whole Church, with the basest Sacrilege and Forgery, unless one be well assured in his Conscience that he is able to make it good, is such a piece of uncharitableness and high presumption, that I know no excuse it can admit of: And if our Church be bringing Souls to Christ in the method proposed in the Gospel, how much has the Writer of this Paper, or any other that manages these Arguments to answer for, that study to raise such scruples attend to cross and defeat so good a design?

But this Paper, weak as it is, was thought fit to be copied out, and given about, and was brought to a Person of Quality, that had been educated under a deep sense of the reverence due to the Church and Church-men; So that that they hoped if such a one could be once induced to believe that we had no Orders, nor Church-men duly called, among us, it had been easie to have prevailed further. But that Person being sincerely pious and devout, and not easily shaken with every story that was made, and being desirous to be fully satisfied in this matter, convey'd the Paper into my hands, and I was put upon the answering it.

I quickly saw that the Arguments were so weak and trifling, that they were very easily answered; Yet since I was to engage in such a subject, I resolv'd to do it with as much care and industry as the importance of the Matters required: And finding that, for all that had been written on this Controversie, there remained a great deal to be said, I have so fully considered it, as I hope no scruple will remain with discerning persons, and for the endless doubtings of weaker minds, and the restless endeavours of busy Emissaries, nothing can satisfy or silence those.

It may seem too great a presumption in one that is a stranger in this Church to engage in a Question that so much concerns it. But though I had not my Orders in this Church, yet I derive them from it, being Ordained by a Bishop that had his Ordination in this Church; so that I am equally concerned in the issue of the Question: And I am confident no body shall
have

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have cause to imagine that I engage in it with design to betray or give it up.

Among the many unjust and spiteful Calumnies, with which the Clergy of the Roman Communion, study to asperse and disgrace the Reformation, there are none more frequently made use of, than these, That there are no Pastors Lawfully called or Ordained among us, That we have not the Power of making God present on our Altars, as they have, nor the power of absolving from sins, much less of Redeeming Souls from the miseries they are under in another state. They tell their Credulous followers, that we were all at first no better than a Company of Tub-Preachers, and that all the disorders we saw of that sort during the late Wars, were as justifiable as the first beginnings of the Reformation. And tho the ridiculous Fable of the Nags-head, be so manifest a Forgery, supported by no good Evidence, and overthrowen by the Authority of so many publick Records, besides many other clear presumptions from the state of things, and the time in which that was said to be done, that one might very reasonably expect that all sober or discreet persons should be ashamed of so foul an Imposture; yet it serves them still for many a good turn, and so they will never lay it down: Tho I dare boldly say there is no matter of Fact of which there are no surviving witnesses, that can be Demonstrated with clearer Evidences than the Regularity and Canonicalness of the Ordination of Arch Bishop Parker. Others, that are not so lost in impudence, yet say that tho we have a shadow of a Succession among us, yet we shew how little regard we have to Orders, when we acknowledge the Protestant Churches beyond the Seas to be true Churches, tho many of them do not so much as pretend to a continued succession of Pastors.

For the foreign Churches, they are able to speak for themselves; nor is it needful for me here to shew what grounds there are for our Churches holding Communion with them. But it must be acknowledged to be a high pitch of boldness and injustice to charge us, as if we did not ascribe all due honour to holy Orders and the Succession of Pastors. We know and assert, That no man can take this honor (of Priesthood) to himself, but he that is called of God as was Aaron: so also Christ glorified not himself to be made an high Priest; but he that said unto him, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee. We reject the ex-

See the 23.
Art. of our
travagant Church.

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extravagant and bold pretences of hot-headed or factious Enthusiasts, and have learned out of the Gospel, that a publick calling was necessary, even to those who had the most extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost. Our Saviour sent his Disciples as his Father had sent Him; and laid his hands on them and gave them the Power of binding and loosing. And tho' God had by his Spirit called Saul and Barnabas, to the Apostleship of the Gentiles, yet they did not enter upon the discharge of that Function, till by the direction of the Holy Ghost, (whether by a voice formed in the Air, or by a secret Inspiration, it matters not,) they were separated, for the work of the Ministry by Prayer and Imposition of hands. And tho' Timothy was by some Prophecies marked out as a Sacred Person, yet he was received into that Function by the Imposition of St. Paul's hands. From these sacred Authorities, backed with the constant Doctrine and practice of the Churches of God, in all Ages, we do hold a visible Vocation and Ordination of Pastors necessary in the Church.

But whether the Roman Pontifical, or our Ordinal comes nearer the Rules and Instances in Scripture, and the forms of the Primitive times, for at least Eight hundred years, any that will compare them, will easily discern, and it is the chief subject of the following Work, fully to evince the advantage of our forms beyond theirs.

It is true, we do not extol the Office of Priesthood to that height, as to say, the Priest can by a few words work the greatest miracle that ever was, and can make God present, (as they love to Phrase it) this we think is the honouring the Creature more than the Creator. Nor do we exalt the Priest above God's Viceroy on Earth our Lawful Sovereign, whom (according to the Doctrine of the Primitive Church, even when persecuted by their Emperours,) we honour as next to God, and one who is inferiour to God only. And therefore we reject the Seditious comparing of the Dignity of the Priestly Office, with the Kingly, which has not satisfied the Ambition of the Romish Clergy since Hildebrand's days, but the one must be preferred to the other. Nor do we pretend that our Character gives us an Immunity to commit Crimes, and an Exemption from the Civil Courts, when they are Committed. This were to make the Altar a Sanctuary for the most Criminal, and the house of Prayer a Den of Thieves and Robbers.

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It is true, Christian Princes granted these Immunities at first, that Church-men might not be disturbed in their Callings, nor vexed with troublesome suits. But afterwards that would not suffice, but the Doctrine of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Immunity, was set up, as a thing most sacred: and no wonder was it that men durst not presume to lay hands on him who could bring down not only Legions of Angels, but God himself with a word. And in the beginning of this Century, Italy had almost been imbroiled in a War of the Pope's making; for which he pretended this for one cause, that the State of Venice had apprehended two notoriously leud and flagitious Priests, and were proceeding against them according to Law. But he saw other Princes were not very ready to second him, and yet he did not lay down the quarrel till the Process of the Priests was discharged, and they were set at liberty. Such Exemptions are very profitable for a corrupt Clergy, but if any such be among us, we claim no such Protection, being willing to leave them to the Law.

We know as little ground for thinking the Priest, by his saying Mass can bring Souls out of Purgatory; the Scriptures have made no discoveries either of Purgatory, or the ways to escape from it, or get out of it: The Primitive Church continued still as Ignorant as the Holy Pen-men had been; but in the darkest Ages, (the night being a fit time for Dreams) this other world was discovered, which has brought greater returns of Power and Riches to that Prince, under whose protection the discovery was made, than the world Columbus discovered, has sent to the Crown of Castile. And tho' the trade is not of that advantage that it was, yet in gratitude for past services it must never be neglected, or as when the vein of a Mine fails, they dig on through the hardest Rocks till they find it again, for the works must still go on. But we, poor Souls, have nothing to do with that gainful Traffic, and therefore the Glory of the discovery, and the Monopoly of the Trade, we freely resign up to them, and acknowledge the profits of new Inventions, by the Rules of all Government, are only due to the Inventors; so that they have no reason to quarrel with us for leaving this entirely to them.

For the power of binding and loosing, we do assert, that as our Saviour vested his Disciples with it, so it is still in the Church: but if the vigour and exercise of it be much weakened, we have none to blame for it but the Church of Rome: who have now

in a course of many ages, laid down all open and publick penance: So that the World being once delivered from that vobish to licentious men seemed a heavy Bondage, it is not to be wondered at, if the Primitive strictness could not be easily retrieved. 'Tis true, this is a defect in our Church, it is confessed by her in the Office of Communion, and she wishes it may be restored; but the decay and disuse of it begun in the Church of Rome; and every body knows that what is severe and uneasy to Flesh and Blood, is not soon submitted to, when the practice of it is for any considerable time intermitted.

Lib. de Fregn.
Commun.

But the Clergy of that Communion, thought they had made a good bargain, when the necessity of Auricular Confessors, and private Absolution was received: to which the Laity did more easily submit, that they might be freed from the shame of open penance: and they knew how to deal with their Priests, when the penance was secret, none knew either the heinousness of their sins, or the nature of the penance: so it was more safe for the Priest to enjoyn what he listed, and give Absolution on what terms he pleased. And then because it was painful to have the Absolution delayed, till the penance was fulfilled, vvhich was the Rule of the Primitive Church, Absolution was granted immediately upon Confession without more ado: as Arnaud has fully discovered to the World.

Certainly every body that considers these things must discern what Merchandise the Roman Clergy have made of the power of the Keys, to make themselves Masters of all mens secrets, and of their Consciences, then was the necessity of secret Confession set up; though there be nothing in Scripture that favours it: any places that look that way, being only meant of Confessing our Faults to those against whom they are Committed, or of a publick Confession in the Cases of publick Offences. Nor can it be pretended with any Colour of truth or reason, that the Primitive Church did set up or Authorise Confession, in any other way than as our Church does, recommending it only as an excellent mean, towards the quieting the Conscience, and avoiding of all Scruple and Doubtfulness.

Penitence is also a mean for humbling the sinner more, for possessing him vvvith deeper apprehensions of the guilt and evil of sin, and of the Justice of God, and for ingaging him to more diligence and watchfulness for the future, and by these Rules
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These practices are common, and avowed in that Church, and by these and such like have the Jesuites got all the world to make their Confessions to them: of which such discoveries have been made by the Writers of the Port-Royal, that we need say nothing but only look on with Astonishment, and see the Impudent partiality of the Court of Rome, and how obstinately they are resolved to reform nothing, For tho the practice of the whole Church in all the Councils that were held for many ages, be clearly of the side of the Janesensists, yet they must be condemned, their Books censured, and the practices of the Jesuites encouraged and supported.

All this of what Undaunted Consciences must they be, who charge our Church as opening a Sanctuary for Vice and Impurity: because we retain not the necessity of secret Confession, and Absolution. Which (whatever they may prove if well managed,) are according to the practices of that Church, and the Casuistical Divinity that is in greatest Credit there, and by which their Priests are directed, Engines for beating down all Religion and common Honesty.

But our Church owns still the power of the Keys, which is not only Doctrinal, when the Mercies of God are declared, or his Judgments denounced; but it is also Authoritative and Ministerial, by which all Christians are either admitted to, or rejected from the Privileges of Church-Communion, and their sins are bound or loosed. With this we assert the Pastors of the Church are Vested.

Art. 33.

For the Rites of our Ordinations, we still retain those which are mentioned in the Scriptures, which are Imposition of Hands and Prayer. As for the forms of Prayer, the Catholick Church never agreed on any, nor decreed what were to be used. Every Church had their own forms. And though the Church of Rome did unmercifully enough impose divers things on the Greek Churches, and because they would not yield to her Tyranny, she left them to be a Prey to the Turk, and did not interpose her Authority with the Princes of the West, over whom she was then Absolute, to arm them for the assistance and defence of the Greeks; yet amidst all this desire of Rule, they were never so unreasonable as to impose their Liturgies, Rituals, or Missals on them, but in these they left them to their own Forms, and so continue to do to this day. Anciently they had no more Jurisdiction over the British Churches than over the Greek Churches. So that by the division of Provinces confirmed by General Councils, and by a particular decree of the Council of Ephesus, no new

Art. 7.

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Authority over any other Churches was to be assumed by any See, but all were to be determined by the former practices and customs of the Church. It is certain that before that time the Bishops of Rome had no Patriarchal Jurisdiction in Britain; so that if the Decrees of General Councils will bind them, they ought not to claim any Authority over us.

But if the Popes build new Pretensions on Austin the Monk's being sent hither by Pope Gregory the Great. We are ready to refer this matter to his decision, and will stand to his award, for he being consulted by Austin about some particulars, one of these was.

3. Inter.

Since there is one Faith, how comes it that the Customs of the Churches are so different, and that one form of Missals is in the Roman Church, and another is in the Churches of the Gauls or of France?

From this Question it appears that even France, which was undoubtedly within the Patriarchat of Rome, had Forms different from those used in Rome: But let us now hear what Answer is given by Pope Gregory, which may be reasonably believed ex Cathedra, and so of great Authority, with all who acknowledge the Infallibility of that See.

Epist. 31. l. 12.
Iud. 7.

You know the custom of the Church of Rome in which you were educated, but my opinion is, that whatever you find either in the Holy Roman, the Gallican, or any other Church that may be more pleasing to Almighty God, you shall diligently choose out that: and infuse in the English Church, which is yet but young in the Faith by careful Instruction, what you can gather from many Churches; for we ought not to love things for the sake of a place, but places for the sake of good things; therefore choose from all Churches the things that are Pious, Religious, and Right, and gather all these in one bundle and leave them with the English, that they may become familiar to them.

It will be hard for the Agents of that Church to find out a Reason why Austin Bishop of Canterbury might make such changes in the Liturgies by gathering out of the several Rituals that were then in the World what he thought fit, and yet to deny the same power to Arch-Bishop Cranmer and the Bishops in King Edward's days, why might not they as well as Austin the Monk, compare the Rituals of the Church of Rome with other more ancient Forms, and gather together what they found most Pious, Religious, and Right, not loving things for the sake of a place.
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(whether Rome or Sarum) but loving places rather for the sake of good things.

So that in this we have on our side the decision of a Pope, who was both more learned and more pious than any of all his Successors; but this is not the only particular in which they will decline to be tryed by his Judgment.

And in the changes that were made, it is very clear that our Reformers did not design to throw out every thing that was in the Roman Rituals right or wrong; but made all the good use that was possible of the Forms that were then received in the Western Church; and in this our Church followed our Saviours method, who though he had the fulness of the Godhead dwelling in him, and was to Antiquate the Jewish Religion, and to substitute his more Divine Precepts to those of Moses; Yet he did accommodate his Institutions as near as could be, to the Customs of the Jews, not only in lesser matters, but even in those two great Sacraments by which his Church is knit together (as hath been fully made out by many learned Writers.) If then the Customs of a Religion that was ready to perish, were made use of, and by new and more sacred Benedictions were consecrated to higher ends; Our Church shewed her Prudence and Moderation, in not destroying Root and Branch, but reserving such things as were good, and by being cleansed from some Excrescencies might prove still of excellent use. This though it has given some colour to many peevish complaints, yet is that in which we have cause still to glory.

This care and caution does eminently appear in our Ordinal, the Ceremonies which were invented by the latter Ages we laid aside, the more Ancient and Apostolical are retained. And for the formal words used in the Imposition of Hands, though the saying Receive the Holy Ghost was a latter addition without any Ancient Authority; yet because this comes nearer the practice of our Saviour, it was retained as the form of giving Orders. For since it is confessed on all hands that the Form of Orders is in the power of the Church, we had good reason to prefer that which our Blessed Saviour made use of to any other, and it had been a sullen and childish peevishness to have changed this, because it was used in the Church of Rome. So that I cannot imagine what should move them to shew so much dislike to our Forms, except it be the old Quarrel of hating them, because they are better and their own are worse; and so because their deeds are evil they envy and revile us.

In this whole matter we are willing to be tryed both by the Scrip-

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tures and the first eight Ages, even of the Roman Church, by the Greek Church to this day, and by the Doctrine that is most commonly received even in their own Church.

There is but one Objection that may seem to have any force in it, which can be made from the practices of the Primitive Church against the Ordinations in this Church, which is, that we have not the inferior degrees of Subdeacons, Acolyths, Exorcists, Readers and Porters in our Church; and indeed if the Popes Infallibility be well proved, this will be of force sufficient to invalidate our Orders. The case of Photius Patriarch of Constantinople, is well known, whom Pope Nicolaus denyed to be lawfully Ordained, because he was suddenly raised up from being a Lay-man to be made a Patriarch, and though he passed through the Ecclesiastical Degrees, yet that was not thought sufficient by that Pope, who certainly would have been more severe to us who have none of these Degrees among us.

But these Orders cannot be looked on as either of Divine or Apostolical Institution, the Scripture mentions them not, St. Clemens, St. Ignatius, and St. Polycarp, say nothing of them, Justin Martyr, and Irenæus, are as silent about them; so that, till the third Century we find no footsteps of them, the first mention that is made of them is in the Canons and Constitutions called Apostolical (of whose Antiquity I shall now say nothing.) In the Canons mention is oft made of the rest of the Clergy, as distinct from Bishops, Priests and Deacons, and particularly they mention Readers, Subdeacons, and Singers. In the Constitutions there are Rules given about the Ordination of Subdeacons and Readers. And though there is mention made of Exorcists, yet it is plainly said there, that they were not Ordained, but were believed to have that power over Spirits by a free gift of God, and that they were then Ordained when they were made Bishops and Priests. Firmilian who lived in the midst of the third Century, speaks of Exorcists, but it does not appear from his words, if they were a distinct or an inferior Order of Churchmen, and they may be well enough understood of such as had an extraordinary power over Spirits. Yet in the beginning of the fourth Century we find in the Greek Church more inferior Orders, for the Council of Laodicea reckons up Servants (who it is like were Acolyths) Readers, Singers, Exorcists, Porters, and Ἀκουῖται, who were it seems, Monks, or some persons that were employed in servile works, such as the diggers of Graves. And by the Council of Antioch the Chorepiscopi

Can. 42.

Lib. 8. cap. 21.
and 23.

Cap. 26.

Inter Epi.
Cypr. Ep. 75.

Can. 64.

Can. 10.

copi

copi might Ordain Subdeacons, Readers, and Exorcists. And if the Epistle to the Church of Antioch, said to be written by Ignatius, was forged in the same Century, by it it appears that there were then in the Greek Church Subdeacons, Readers, Singers, Porters, and Exorcists, for all these are saluted in that Epistle, from which it appears that all these Orders were then in the Church of Antioch.

But there is no small difficulty about these Orders in the Greek Churches, for in all their Rituals we find no inferior Orders but Subdeacons, and Readers, to whom in some Churches they have added Singers; upon which it is that Morinus confidently pronounces there were never any other inferior Orders in the Greek Church, but these two; but it does not appear that he had considered well those Canons of Laodicea and Antioch which mention other Orders. Abraham Ecchellensis, according to his usual way of flattering the Court of Rome in all his Writings, is not a little puzzled with this, he confesses that in the Greek Church they have no other inferior Orders but Subdeacons and Readers, but says, some thought those other lower degrees were included in the Order of Readers, but he thinks they were included in the Subdeacons Orders, and strains all the wit he had to give some colours for this conceit of his. In sum it is clear, Exorcists were an inferior Office in the Greek Church once, and afterwards it was laid aside. It were an impertinent digression here to give an account of their Office: but in a word they were Catechists, who prepared the Catechumens for Baptism; and by the Catechisms in the Church, all that came from Heathenism to be Christians were often adjured to renounce the Devil and all Heathenish Idolatry. Which Adjurations were call'd Exorcisms, and from these the Catechists were called Exorcists: of which he that desires further satisfaction may be directed to it by what he will find in the Margin. But when, or upon what occasion this Office fell in disuse in the Greek Church, does not appear. I shall only suggest that it is reasonable to conclude, that upon the general suppression of Heathenism in the Greek Empire, when there were no more Catechumens, there being no further use of Exorcists the Function was no longer continued. It appears likewise from the Name Acolyth, that it was begun in the Greek Church, from whence it is probable, the Latin Church had that Order.

Nor. 18. in
Can. Nich.
Arab.

See Nazianz.
Orat. in Bapt.
Cyr. Pref. ad
Catech. Bal-
sam. in Schol.
in Con. Laod.
& Ant.
Harmen in
Con. Antioch.

In the Latin Church St. Cyprian is the first that speaks of these

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these Inferior Orders, and we find them frequently mentioned in his Epistles; he speaks of (a) Subdeacons, (b) Acolyths, (c) Readers, and (d) Exorcists, and contemporary with him was Cornelius, who (e) giving an account of the Clergy of Rome, says there were forty six Priests, seven Deacons, forty two Acolyths, fifty Exorcists, Readers, and Porters. So it seems, there were no Subdeacons then in Rome, nor does St. Cyprian mention the Porters. So that in that Century all these Orders were not looked on as necessary in the Western Church, much less was there a certain number of years determined for every one of them, as was afterwards done by the Popes, who appointed that before any might be made a Priest, he should be five years a Reader and Exorcist, and fourteen years an Acolyth and Subdeacon. In the fourth Council of Carthage we have the full Catalogue of the sacred Functions (as they are called in the Apostolical Canons) with the rules and forms of Ordaining them, and there (a) Subdeacons, (b) Acolyths, (c) Exorcists, (d) Readers, (e) Porters, and (f) Singers, are set down.

But besides these we find another Order of Fossarii, or the diggers of Graves, mentioned by St. Jerome, who calls them the first Order of the Clergy; they are also mentioned in that Suppositions Letter of St. Ignatius to the Church of Antioch, and are spoken of by Epiphanius, by which it appears they were reckoned among the Clergy both in the Greek and Latin Churches. But there is no mention of them in any latter Writers. We find mention of another office in an Author, to whom indeed little credit is due, who are called the Keepers of the Martyrs, who had the keeping of the Vault or Burying-place, where the Martyrs bodies were laid up in those Churches that were built to their Honour, but we meet with these no where else. And though the Order of Singers continued for several Ages in the Western Church, and is mentioned by most of the Writers on the Roman Rituals in Hittorpius his Collection, and also in the Ordo Romanus, yet is now left out in the Roman Pontifical.

Vit. Pontif. in
vita Silvestri.

From all which it appears, that there was no settled Order agreed on or received in the Catholick Church about these Inferior Degrees; some of them that were received in some Churches were not in other Churches, and what was generally received in one Age was laid aside in another, and therefore there is no Obligation lying on us to continue those still.

But as the number of these Orders was different, so the ways of Ordaining were not the same. In the Eastern Church they were (and

(and are to this day) conferred by Imposition of Hands, which was perhaps taken from the custom of the Jews among whom all Offices were given with that Rite. But in the Western Church they were conferred by the delivery of a Book, Vessel, or Instrument that related to their Function, which perhaps was taken from the Roman Custom of granting Offices by the Tradition of somewhat that belonged to it, as Trajan made the Prefects by giving them a Sword.

The occasion of setting up all these Inferior Offices was certainly very just and good, that there might be taken in them a long and full probation of all such as were to be admitted to the Offices that were of Divine Institution, and so none might be admitted to any of them before there had been a full trial and discovery made of their merit and good behaviour, and were indeed like degrees in Universities. But after that Constantine granted such Immunities and Exemptions to Churchmen, then it is probable that many who desired to share in these, and yet had no mind to be Initiated in the Offices of Divine Appointment, came and entered in these lower degrees: to regulate which, Justinian made a Law that none who had been Soldiers or had any Offices about their Courts (Curiales and obstricti curiæ) might be Ordained, till they had got their Dimission and had been fifteen years in a Monastery; and perhaps some of these offices were laid aside, because of the complaints the Prefects made of the Interruption of Justice by the great numbers of the Clergy, who pleaded the Exemptions that were granted to them.

Nov. 123.
cap. 15.
Grat. List. 53.

Upon the whole matter it is clear that all these Orders were only of Ecclesiastical Institution, So that the want of them cannot be charged on our Church as an essential defect, and our Church had as good Authority to lay all these aside, as other Churches had to lay down sometimes one, sometimes more of them. And in the Church of Rome, though these are still kept up, yet all except the Subdeacons are merely for Forms sake, for Acolyths, Exorcists, Readers, or Porters, never discharge any part of the Service that belongs to their Office, and the Exorcisms are quite taken out of the hands of the Exorcists, and are made only by Priests. So that this whole Objection comes to nothing.

But we have much more material Objections against the Church of Rome upon this head. For whereas by Divine Institution and the practice of the Primitive Church, all Bishops were equal both in Order and Jurisdiction. They have robbed the Bishops of the greatest part of their Jurisdiction; of which I shall give some Instances.

Monks

Cap. 4.
Con. Agath.
can. 37, 38.
Con. Aurel.
can. 19.

An. 659.
An. 664.

Monks by their Original were Laymen, and were under the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of the Diocese, this at first was not so much as disputed; but when they grew insolent and factious, it was declared by the General Council of Chalcedon that they were and ought to be subject to their Bishops, and so it continues in the Greek Church to this day. The same was also decreed in some Western Councils, but when the Order of the Benedictines grew very considerable, and many persons of Quality retired into it, and it became a great piece of Religion to build and enrich Abbays; then the Founders moved their Kings to obtain Privileges for them from their Bishops; for the most ancient of these that I have met with, is the Exemption of the Abbey of St. Denis, granted by the Bishop of Paris; the next to that is the exemption of the Abbey of Corbie, granted by the Bishop of Amiens, which Presidents were soon followed by a great many others. By these Grants the Bishops did renounce their share of the Revenues of the Abbey, of which, according to the Ancient Division, the fourth part did belong to the Bishop: and for the further quiet of those Religious Houses, the Bishops did exempt them from all Visitations, and gave up the power they had over them wholly to the Abbot; and these exemptions, which at first were only for the Monasteries, were afterwards extended further to all the Lands and Churches that belonged to the Abbays, of which some were exempted from the Visitations of the Arch-Deacons, and the Bishops Vicars; others were also exempted from the Bishops visiting in person.

But the Popes from the 8th. Century downwards, finding how much Abbays were enriched, and it being a grateful thing in all places, to favour the Monks, they granted them fuller and larger Privileges, they gave many Abbots a right to a Miter and a Staff, and declared them Prelates. And the truth of it was, the secular Clergy were for the most part both so ignorant and so corrupt, that it was no wonder if all the World favoured the Monks, whose vices being committed within their Cloysters, were not so notorious, and did not occasion so much scandal as these disorders of the Clergy did, which were more publick. And the very name Religious or Regular, which the Monks took to themselves, and the name Secular, with which they loaded the Clergy, did them great service; for in ignorant Ages specious Titles and ill sounding Names affect the Vulgar mightily. And the Monks of the Order of St. Austin being also possessors of most of the Prebends, from whence they

they were called Canons Regular, those Chapters had exempted Jurisdictions given them. From hence sprung all the peculiar Exemptions that are among us, for in the suppressing of the Monasteries, the Bishops were not fully restored to their ancient Jurisdiction; so that those Exemptions do still continue, from whence the most scandalous disorders in our Clergy have risen. So much are they mistaken who complain of the Episcopal Jurisdiction, since the foulest Enormities among us flow from the want of it, and from a Corruption brought in by the Popes, which is not yet sufficiently purged out.

These Monasteries were so many separated and independent Congregations which did chuse their own Pastors, and this only difference in the point of Government, is between our Modern Independents, and them; that these will depend on none in the rules of their Policy, but upon Christ alone, without acknowledging any superior Jurisdiction or Subordination, and those did depend on Christ's Vicar, without submitting to any other Authority.

But the Popes designing to subject the Episcopal Authority wholly to themselves, used another Method toward that end, which was to raise the Dignity of the Abbots very high, and whereas by the Primitive (a) Canons three Bishops were to concur in the Consecration of a Bishop, the Popes brought in a custom of allowing two Misered Abbots to assist a Bishop in those Consecrations, which is acknowledged both by (b) Binnius and (c) Bellarmine. And this with the Title Prelate, and the use of the Miter and the Pastoral Staff, raised them to an equality with the Bishops.

This was not all, they were next brought to sit in General Councils. Originally Abbots were but Laymen, but now they must all be Priests; yet it was never before heard of, that Priests did sit in Oecumenical Councils. It is true, the Rural-Bishops (or Chorepiscopi) did subscribe the Canons of the Council of Nice and other General Councils; but whatever Morinus and some others have said, to prove that they were no more than Priests, yet if it were not an impertinent Digression, I think it could be easily made appear that they were Bishops; so that it is most certain that no Priests did subscribe and sit in General Councils for many Ages in their own Names, for what they did by Proxy from their Bishops, has no relation to this matter. But when the Popes were setting up their Monarchy in the West, they resolved to ballance the Votes of the Bishops by bringing in Abbots to vote in their General Councils, who were obliged by their Interest to support the Exaltation of the

a Can. 1.
Apost. Con.
Nic. can. 4.
Con. Arel. 1.
can. 21. Arel.
2. can. 5.
Carth. 2 Can.
12. See Grat.
Dist. 64.
b In Can. 1 A-
post.
c Bell. de no-
tis Eccl. lib.
4. cap. 8.

Papal power, and suppressing of Episcopal Jurisdiction.

An. 1123.

Tom. Con. 10.
pag. 893.

Tom. Con. 11.
par. 1. pag.
127.

An 1311.

Tom. Con. 11.
par. 2. pag.
1550.

In the first general Council that was held by Calistus the second, in the Lateran, Sugerius, who was present, says, there were 300 and more Bishops, but Pandulphus says, there were present 997. partly Bishops, partly Abbots; so that above 600 of these must have been Abbots. In the third Council of Lateran we hear of none but Bishops, but to make amends for that, the Writs that summoned the fourth Council of Lateran, were sent to Abbots as well as to Bishops, and a vast number of them came. The Writs for the second Council of Lions, were issued out, not only to Abbots, but to inferior Prelates by Pope Gregory the Tenth, and Aquinas and Bonaventura, being then in great esteem, were also called to that Council, though they were only Friars. But Pope Clement the fifth took care to have a full Assembly, when he called the General Council at Vienna, for the Writs were not only to Patriarchs, Primates, Metropolitans, Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and Abbots, as had been done before, but to all Priors, Deans, Provoists, Archdeacons, Archpriests, and all other Prelates of Monasteries and Churches exempted, and non-exempted. And thus the Popes were sure to carry things in such Assemblies as they pleased. And it is no unpleasant thing to observe what were the Contests between the Popes and the Bishops, which are plainly the same, and have been managed by the same Arts and Intrigues, that the Contests in Political matters between Prerogative and Privilege have been. For near five Ages the matter was contested by the Prelates, but the power of the Abbots, and the other exemptions of the Deans and Chapters did much weaken the Bishops Authority, and the Secular Princes did joyn with the Popes to bear down the Bishops, who having great Revenues, did generally joyn with the People for the asserting of publick Liberty. But the Popes gave them up as Sacrifices to their Princes, till they forced them afterwards to seek to them for shelter from the severity of their Princes, and then the Tables were turned.

All this was not a little set forward by the credit which the begging Friars got every where in the 13th. Century, for the Monks were then become as scandalous as the Secular Clergy had ever been, and were generally very ignorant; so that they could not serve the ends of the Papacy any more, but the austere lives of the Franciscans, their poverty and coarse Garments girt about with Ropes, their bare Legs and seeming Humility gained them great esteem; and the Zealous Dominicans, whose course of life was not so severe, yet were as poor, and preached much;
and

A. 1214.
An. 1209.

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and Aquinas, Scotus, and Bonaventure, brought in among the Friars the learning of the Schools, which was then in great esteem in the World, all which concurred to dispose the People to receive them with great Veneration. These were also employed by the Popes every where, and were also exempted from Episcopal Visitation, and had priviledges to build Churches, and Seminaries, to Preach, hear Confessions, and Administer the Sacraments every where, and by these means the Episcopal Jurisdiction was quite overthrown, and the Papacy became absolute, and those Orders of Mendicant Friars were clearly a Presbytery, they being a company of Priests that acknowledged no Episcopal Jurisdiction over them, and their Great Chapter was their General Assembly, and their Annual, or Triennial Generals and Provincials, who are chosen by them, were like the elected Moderators of Provincial and National Assemblies. In this only did that Presbytery differ from the Geneva Form, that it was subject only to Christ's pretended Vicar, the other claims to be only subordinate to Christ himself, but both did equally rebel against their Bishops. Yet the Schism of the Papacy had almost overturned all, for the Bishops met in a General Council at Constance (I call all those Councils General, according to the style of the Church of Rome, for I know there was not a Council truly General among them all) and there they thought to retrieve their Authority, and to be quit with the Popes for bringing in Abbots and other inferior Prelates, they brought in Deputies from Universities, to sit and judge with them, and they thought they had made sure work of all by their Acts, that regulated the Popes Election, restrained his power, subjected him to the judgment of a General Council, and above all, by their Act for a Decennial General Council, with such provisions in it, that one would think the Act for Triennial Parliaments was copied from that Original: But alas, all this proved to no purpose, for as Æneas Sylvius wisely said, that since all Preferments were given by the Pope, and none by the Council, he must certainly have the better of it at long run, which as it made himself turn about, so it brought off many more; and at length the Pope became Master of all, and at the Council of Florence the Generals of Orders were brought in to have Votes there.

There was another great Engine also made use of, by which all the rules of the Primitive Church was overturned, which was the Popes assuming a power to hear, and judge all causes originally. All that the Popes pretended to for many Ages was to be the highest Tribunal to which the last

Appeal did lie. And this was not only never yielded to by the Eastern Churches, but even the African Churches, though a part of the Latin Church, would never submit to it, and yet the receiving an Appeal had a very favourable Plea, that a person who had been oppressed by a faction, perhaps in his own Countrey, might find relief and protection elsewhere: But after the eighth Century, and that the forged and now universally acknowledged spurious Decretals were received, they set up a new pretention of Judging Causes Originally, taking matters out of the hands of the Judge Ordinary, and bringing the Cognizance of them to Rome, and setting up many reserved Cases which could only be judged by the Pope; and the Canonists that were a servile sort of people, who wrote chiefly for Preferment, did upon all occasions find new Distinctions for enlarging the Popes power. But because it was intolerable, tedious and expensive to carry all such matters to Rome; therefore that it might not be too heavy a burden to the World, Legantine Courts were every where set up, where all those Tryals were made. By all these ways were the Primitive Rules broken, and such a confusion was brought in upon all Ecclesiastical Offices, that no Ancient Land-mark or Boundary was thought so sacred; that they did not either leap over or change it. I will not enlarge further on this Subject, and having already transgressed the bounds of a Preface, I will not lay open the other Violations of the Sacred Offices at the full length, but as the value of every thing is no less prejudiced by exalting it too high, than by depressing it too much, for a string over-bended must crack; So the Popes did as much wrong these Functions by exalting them out of measure, as they had done by encroaching so far upon them. And this was done by the Croisades, Indulgences, Priviledged Places, Jubilees and Redemption from Purgatory, with other things of that nature, which the Monks and Friars did every where preach and proclaim; these things did savour of Interest so palpably, that it was no wonder if most people were so alienated from them, that the first Reformers found all persons disposed to forsake the Communion of a Church that had so long deceived them by such gross Impositions.

Many had groaned long under all these Corruptions, and of such the greater part received the Reformation, others hoping to have got things brought about to a better pass, continued still in that Communion; but how little either Erasmus, Vicellius, Cassander, or many more such could prevail, the event

event shewed; for in the Council of Trent (which was not obtained, but after many years sue; frequent Addresses not without threatnings, at length extorting it) how little could be carried appears even from Cardinal Pallavicini's own History, two grand points, upon which the Bishops that had honest designs, intended to raise the Reformation of Discipline and Manners were the declaring the Episcopal Jurisdictions to be of Divine Right; and that the Resistance of all Ecclesiastical Incumbents, was also of Divine Right, but these could not be carried. Lainez the General of the Jesuits, and the whole Court Party, appearing with great Vehemence against the first of these, asserting that all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction was wholly and only in the Pope. And from this one thing it may appear how little Justice or fair-dealing was to be expected from that Council, towards those whom they called Hereticks, when the Bishops themselves being Judges, in a thing in which they were also Parties, I mean about the Divine Right of their own Jurisdiction, they could not carry it, for it was never heard of before, that where one was both Judge and Party, he was cast. And in the other trifling Reformatations that were Enacted there, what care was taken by Distinctions and Reservations, chiefly that grand and General one of Saving the Dignity of the Apostolical See, to leave a door open by which those very Corruptions which they seemed to condemn and cast out, might be again taken up as most of them have been since. So that the issue of that Assembly was to establish the Papal Authority, to cut off all possible hopes of abating an' ace of the errors of that Church (when all controverted points were turned to Articles of Faith, and the contrary Opinions condemned by Anathematisms) to discover how impossible it is to get the Abuses of that Church effectually Reformed; and in fine, to cure all people of their expectations of any great good from such meetings for the future; and this has since appeared very visibly. For as it is not to be expected that the Popes should call any General Councils, ex motu proprio; so no Christian Princes have thought it worth the while to sollicit that Court for a new Council.

And thus I have hinted at several particulars from which it may appear how much the Church of Rome has confounded those holy Functions, how she has robbed some of them of the power and Jurisdiction which they have from Christ, and has put a power in the hands of others which they never had from Christ. And if

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if the vigour of Ecclesiastical Discipline is not set up among us as it ought to be, we owe it for the greatest part to those Corruptions which they brought in, and being once received, are not easily to be rooted out of the minds of the people.

But to a great many all that can be said of the disorders that have been brought in or kept up in that Church by the Popes, will seem slight and of no force: for they will plainly tell us, that they do not all believe the Pope is Infallible, but are satisfied there are many things done by him that are amiss, and need to be amended: they only adhere to the Catholick Church, to whose definitions and decrees they submit and resign themselves: and yet no body writes more sharply against the Reformation and the Protestant Churches than these men do, charging them with Heresie and Schism, and every thing that is hateful to mankind. This way of wringing was begun in the Sorbon, and never more pompously than at this time, by the Writers of the Port-Royal, and has been taken up here by some whom their adversaries call Blackloists, who speak almost with equal indignation of the Court of Rome, and the Reformation. This I know works great effects on some, and has a very specious appearance; therefore I hope the Reader will pardon me if I hold him yet a little longer in the Preface, to unmask this pretension of some which otherwise may impose upon him.

I shall then make it appear that the maintainers of these principles must either be men of no Conscience at all, and such as stick not at mocking both God and Man, as Perjury and the foulest kind of Equivocation; or if they be true to these Principles, they must on many occasions do the same things for which they condemn us, and count us Hereticks and Schismatics. And this I shall instance in three things which are of the greatest consequence to a Church, namely, Doctrine, Worship, and Government.

For the first of these, When the Pope makes a decision in any controverted point, if I do not think him infallible, I retain still my own freedom to judge as I am convinced, and so I may perchance be of another mind; but if the Pope will have all Church-men, or all Bishops (as was lately done in the case of the five Propositions of Jansenius) to condemn the contrary Opinions, or subscribe Formularies about it; they must either do what is commanded, and so act against their Conscience, Equivocate and be perjured: or if they do it not, they must be proceeded against,

first

first for contempt and contumacy, and next for Heresie; and then they shall be Hereticks as well as we are: And if in one point a Man reserves his private sentiments, notwithstanding the Popes decision, why not in a great many; and if it be no fault to have different opinions, then, since a mans actions must be governed by his persuasions, it will be no fault to maintain and teach them, if they be of great importance, at least it is a great sin to renounce and deny them. Therefore if Pope Leo the X. was not Infallible, Luther was no Heretick, though condemned by him, especially a great many of the Articles for which he was condemned, having never been decided by any of their pretended General Councils: Nor do these men think that the present practice of the Church is a forcible Argument, for those of the Port-Royal have both complained of it, and studied to change it in the matter of Penance and Absolution; so that it will not be easie, nay not possible for them to prove, that Luther was a Heretick, since he was never condemned by any Infalible power; Therefore it is not the Authority of the Condemnation, but the Merit of the Cause, that makes one a Heretick, which is what we plead for. From which it is evident, that, let the Pope decree what he will, all of that Communion must either acquiesce in it, or they shall become Hereticks, This to such as believe the Pope is Infalible, is no matter of difficulty, for if I be once perswaded of that, all his decisions do captivate my Reason, but if I am not, I must either subdue my Conscience to my Interest, or be that Monster which is called an Heretick.

It is true, both Civil and Ecclesiastical Government punishes all obstinate and refractory persons, who stand out against publick conclusions, but still the Subject, if these Laws be Injust, has a clear Conscience amidst his sufferings; therefore this is not parallel to their Doctrine, who make all that comply not with their Decisions, Hereticks, which is a matter of great guilt before God. Let them give an Argument that will make a Protestant a Heretick, which will not infer the same against a Jansenist. And if they go to the Merits of the Cause, it is a tryal we have never declined. So till these men learn to try all their reasonings together, there is no great account to be made of them.

The second particular in which I shall shew the fallaciousness of these mens Reasonings, is in the matter of Divine Worship, which of how great consequence it is, needs not be made out,

it must be a sin of a high nature, either to prophane the name of God by any piece of Worship which I judge sinful, or to use any Devotions about which I am not at all, or at least not fully perswaded. Now the whole Worship of their Church coming Originally and only from the Popes, who have given Authority to what Offices they will, have made Saints and added devotions to them as they pleased; All persons in that Communion must either by a blind resignation accept of every thing in their Worship which the Pope imposes, believing him Infallible; or if they are not of that persuasion, but give themselves leave to examine the Offices, whether they do it by the Scriptures, the Fathers and Tradition, or by the Rules of Reason, they must needs see there are many unjustifiable things in their Offices, many Saints are in the Breviary, about whose Canonization they are not at all assured: And in a word, one shall not speak with one of these Principles, but they will acknowledge there is great need of Reforming their Offices; Yet they must worship God according to them, as they are, otherwise they are Schismatics, and fall under that same condemnation, for which they are so severe upon us.

Therefore it must either be the Merits of the Cause that makes a Schismatick, or if a Condemnation for separating from Authorised Offices does it, then they must resolve to be guilty of it, or worship God, contrary to their Consciences: They have no rules for their Offices, but the Popes pleasure, for Councils never made any; and indeed it is the most unreasonable thing that can be, to put the direction of the whole worship of God in one Man, or a succession of Mens power, unless they be believed Infallible.

The last thing I shall mention to shew how unreasonable they are who deny the Popes Infallibility, and yet condemn the Reformation so severely, is in the point of Government, which though it be not of so high, nor so universal a Nature as the two former are; yet it must be acknowledged to be of great Importance. And that the Prelates of that Church are fast tied to the Pope, without any Reserve or Exceptions, unless it be that (of saving my Order) the sense whereof is not fully understood, will appear from the Oath they make to the Pope before they are Ordained: From the consideration of which it was that King Henry the Eighth laid it out to his Parliament that they were but half his Subjects, and by the Oath then taken by the Bishops of England, as is set down

See pag. 176.

Hall fol. 205.

down by Hall; it appears that since that time there are very considerable Additions made to that Oath, which any that will compare them together, will easily discern.

If men make Conscience of an Oath, they must be in a very hard condition that believe the Pope to be Infallible, and yet are so bound to him by such a Bond. If the Superior be Infallible, the Subject may without any trouble in his Conscience, swear Obedience in any terms that can be conceived. But when the Superior is believed subject to error and mistake, then their swallow must be very large that can swear to preserve, defend, increase, and promote the Rights, Honours, Priviledges, and Authority of the Holy Roman Church of our Lord the Pope, and his Successors aforesaid. The Decrees, Orders, or Appointments, Reservations, Provisions, or Mandates Apostolical; I shall observe with all my strength, and make them to be observed by others. And I shall according to my power, persecute and oppose all Hereticks, Schismatics, and Rebels, against the said our Lord and his Successors. And I shall humbly receive, and diligently execute Apostolical Commands.

Which words being full, and without those necessary and just reserves of the Obedience promised to Ecclesiastical Superiors, in all things Lawful and Honest, all the Prelates of the Roman Communion are as fast tied to the Pope, as if they believed him Infallible; for if they believed him such, they could be tied to nothing more than absolute and unlimited Obedience. Therefore they are in so much a worse estate than others be, which hold that opinion, because they have the same Obligation bound upon them by Oath. And let the Pope Command what he will, they must either obey him, or confess themselves guilty of breach of Oath and Perjury. And I hope the Reader will observe what mercy, all, whom they account Hereticks, Schismatics, and Rebels, against their Lord the Pope, are to expect at their hands, who make their Bishops swear to persecute all such according to their power; so that we may by this be abundantly satisfied of their good Intentions and Inclinations, when ever it shall be in their power to fulfil the Contents of this Oath; for let any of them speak ever so softly or gently, if he comes to be Consecrated a Bishop, he must either be perjured, or turn a persecuter of all Protestants, who are in their opinion the worst sort of Hereticks and Schismatics.

And certainly it is much more reasonable to calculate what inrea-

son we ought to expect from the Prelates of that Church, if ever our sins provoke God to deliver us over to their Tyranny, from the Oath they swear at their Consecration, than from all the meek and good natured words with which they now study to abuse some among us, which is so common an Artifice of all who aspire to Power and Government, that one might think the trick should be tried no more; but some love to be cheated a hundred times over.

From these Instances it is apparent, that the Pope has every whit as much Authority in that Church, and over all in it, as if he were believed Infallible, since both the Doctrine, Worship, and Government of their Church are determined by him, to whose award all must not only submit, but be concluded by it in their Subscriptions, Worship, and other practices.

So that the opinion of the Popes being fallible, gives such persons no ease nor freedom (except it be to their secret thoughts) but brings them under endless scruples and perplexities by the Obligations and Oaths that are imposed upon them, which bind them to a further obedience and compliance then is consistent with a fallible Authority.

And therefore their Principles being so incoherent that they cannot maintain both their charge against us of Heresie and Schism, and their opinion of the Popes Fallibility, and keep a good Conscience withal. There is one of three things to be expected from men of that principle, either that they shall quite throw off the Popes Tyrannical Yoke, and assert their own liberty, reserving still their other Opinions, as was done in the days of King Henry the Eighth, or that they shall joyn in Communion with us, or that they shall continue as they are complying with every thing imposed on them by the Court of Rome, preferring policy to a good Conscience, studying by frivolous Distinctions to reconcile these Compliances with their Principles, which any man easily see are Inconsistent.

That those of the Port-Royal have done the last, is laid to their charge, both by Calvinists and Jesuits; and as I am credibly informed by some of their own number, who do complain of their subscribing Formularies, and every thing else sent from Rome, which they have opposed as long as they could; but when the Court of Rome gets their Conquering King on their side, so that they can withstand no longer unless they will suffer for their Conscience, then they subscribe as formally and fully as others do. And this Compliance is to be looked for from all the Men of those Principles, if they do

do not prefer their Conscience to their Interest; and God knows there be many such, for either they must comply tho' against their Conscience, or retire themselves from that Communion; and if they do this last, then all that they accuse us for, and all those common Topicks with which they ply the Vulgar, against separating from the Catholick Church, the setting up of private Judgment against publick, the multiplying new Errors by appealing to Scriptures, or other Books, which is the way of all Hereticks: These I say, with many more of the like nature, will all fall as heavily upon themselves.

Nor is there any reason to think they will throw off the Pope, as was done under King Henry the 8th. for though a great and highspirited King was able to bring that about; yet is it possible that a few Priests, though they had the honesty and boldness to design such a thing, could ever compass it: Their followers would look upon them, if they should but set about it, as Hereticks, and hate them no less (if not more) than they do us; so that it seems a weak and too sanguine an Imagination, to think such a design can ever come to any thing: Therefore these persons must either turn over quite to the Intrigues of the Court of Rome (with what Conscience let them see to it) or joyn themselves to us.

And of this last there is no great cause to have any hope, since we see none Write more bitterly against us than they do, as if they would thereby redeem their credit, either with the Court of Rome, or with their party here, who being possess'd with some suspicions of them, they to clear these, use the common shift of railing foully at those, with whom it is insinuated they have some correspondence. This stile Mr. Arnaud has thought fit to Write in more than any Body, which was the more unseemly in him considering both his Noble Education, and his other excellent and gentle Qualities; and indeed I am heartily glad to find he grows ashamed, and out of love with that way of Writing, in which none has more grossly exceeded all the bounds of Moderation than he has done.

They having declared themselves so fully and formally concerning the Reformation, there is no reason to expect they should ever joyn with us, and they are neither so numerous nor so considerable, as to be able to form themselves into a Society distinct from Rome. Therefore what is to be looked for from them, but that for the most part shall herd in with the rest, and comply even against their Consciences, with all the corruptions of the Papacy. And as a Noble

and Ingenious person said, the long Whip of Rome must bring in all these Straglers; and if two or three will stand out and lie under their Censures, they shall have little credit, and small interest with their own party. So that there is nothing to be expected from any thing they can do or signify.

And therefore all the noise some make of the difference between the Court and Church of Rome, is only a pretty Notion, by which such as are speculative, and consider not the World, may be taken a little; but when they examine it further, they must see that it will be nothing in practice. The Interest, Favour, and Preferments, lie wholly the other way, and the greatest part is led by these; and such honest men as despise these, are either thought Fools or Knaves; some further design being suspected, as the reason of why they pursue not present Advantages. But Preferments being bountifully given by the Court of Rome to their creatures; others who are loaded with their Censures, can never be imagined so considerable, as either to have great Interest at home with their party (which being generally made up of Ignorance, and Zeal, hates those moderate men as Tamperers, and loves none so much as the thorough-paced Papist.) Much less can they ever have any power in the Seminaries and Nurseries beyond Sea: So that all that come over in the Mission shall be well leavened before they come among us, with the high Principles of the Court of Rome. Therefore I cannot apprehend any Advantage that can be reasonably looked for from the cherishing the men of those Principles, though I am very well satisfied some of them are honest men; but as they be very few who will openly own and stick to them, so I doubt not but if the owning these Maxims turned to a matter of Advantage, and ease, abundance that are not honest would pretend to be of the same perswasion. We see that generally (a few Instances only excepted) they join together in the same Intrigues and Designs, and why we should think it possible to draw off any considerable party from the rest, I see no reason; for as it were undoubtedly both wise and good to cherish any motions that might disjoin them one from another; so a few individual Persons, how deserving soever they may be, cannot be of that Importance, that for their sakes a Settlement should be altered, and colour given for a great many to deceive and abuse us.

And I freely acknowledge that the plain dealing Papists, who owns the Popes Infallibility and Absolute Authority, as he speaks, and acts most suitably to the other Principles of their Church, so is less to be suspected.

spected and feared; since he goes roundly to work, than others who speak more softly, and yet are in the same designs, and so may more safely and cunningly catch unwary persons, who either are not much on their guard, or are not well acquainted with their Artifices; but the other are more open and less dangerous.

It is now high time for me to quit this Digression, and to wind up a Preface that is already too long. I shall only, before I make an end, lay before the Reader, a few of the Arts of the Missionaries among us, in the dispersing their Papers and Books.

They write them with great confidence, and swell up the Arguments they offer, with the biggest words and severest expressions that are possible, which works mightily upon the Gentle Reader, for the modesty in Writing has great art in it to work upon an ingenuous mind; yet that to the weak and credulous, is a feeble and dispirited thing, and they are never so apt to believe any thing as when it is confidently avowed with great Pomp and much Vehemence.

If their Books be well written, they want not Printing Presses neither beyond Sea nor in England, and we shall soon hear of them; if they find themselves so baffled (as they have been of late by some great Writers in this Church) that they cannot answer with any tolerable show of Learning and Honesty, then they spread it about that there is an Answer ready, but the Visitors of the Press are so careful, that nothing can escape their diligence. But if either their Papers be too barefaced to be owned, or if they know them to be so weak that they dare not put them to a trial, then instead of Printing them, they Copy them out and give them about.

Of the former sort, the World has got a good Evidence in the Discourses lately published about the Oath of Allegiance, which they intended to whisper in corners, but are now proclaimed openly. Jesuites Loy-
alty.

And of the latter sort is the following Paper, which begins and ends with the highest confidence that is possible, but is so extremely defective in the point of Argument, that they did very wisely, not to adventure on publishing it. But they must write and do somewhat to keep Spirits in their party; and since the defending their own Church, has succeeded so ill with them, they do wisely to change the Scene, and carry in the War to our own Church, and make her the Scene of it, but they are as ill at attacking, as defending; and if we be but safe from their Mines, we need not fear their Batteries, but their under-ground works a better game, and if they cannot waltz us with Destruction, Psal. 92. 5, 6.

on at Noontide, nor make their Arrows fly by Day, then they study to infect us with a Pestilence that walketh in Darknes, and by secret Contrivances and Concealed Papers, to compass that which they know can never be brought about by fair dealings and avowed practices. But truth is great (and the God of truth is greater) and will prevail over the fraud of the Serpent, as well as the force of the Lion.

And if we study to adorn our Profession, and walk worthy of our Holy Calling, we need not fear our Cause, nor all the endeavours of those that study to defame us.

Without this the most laboured Apologies will not signifie much to support our Credit; for the World is more affected with lively Instances and great Examples, than with the most Learned Composures. Every Man's Understanding is wrought on by the one, the other only prevail on considering and judicious persons. And any charge that is put in against the Pastors or Orders of a Church, will be but little regarded, when those that bear Office in it, chiefly in the highest degrees, are burning and shining Lights, few will then stumble or be shaken with any thing that can be said to Eclipse their brightness.

'Tis for the most part want of Merit in Churchmen, that recommends any Arguments that are levelled at their persons or functions, to the World. And though Malice, and Spite ferments with the more rage, the worthier the persons are against whom it works; yet all attempts must needs be, not only unsuccessful, but fall back with shame on the Authors, when all the World sees the Unjustice of them.

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ARGUMENTS

To Prove the *Invalidity* of the

ORDERS

OF THE

Church of *ENGLAND*.

FIRST then I prove that the Ministers of the Church of England are no Priests, through the defect of the Form of Ordination, which was this, pronounced to every one of them when they came to be Ordained: Receive the Holy Ghost, whose sins thou forgiveest they are forgiven, whose sins thou retainest, they are retained; and be thou a Faithful Dispenser of the Word of God, and his Holy Sacraments, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. After which the Bishop delivers a Bible to him, saying, Take thou Authority to Preach the Word, and Minister the Holy Sacraments, in the Congregation where thou shalt be so appointed.

And my first Reason is, Because this Form wants one essential part of Priesthood, which is to Consecrate the most Holy Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood, giving only Power to Administer this Sacrament, which any Deacon may do. That to Consecrate and make present Christs Body and Blood is necessary, Dr. Bramhal, the Bishop of Derry, one of the chief Abettors of the Protestant Ordination, grants in his Book of the Consecration and Succession of Protestant Bishops, saying, The Form of words whereby men are made Priests, must express Power to Consecrate or make present.

sent Christs Body and Blood : *And a little after, They who are Ordained Priests ought to have Power to Consecrate Christs Body and Blood, that is, to make it present, page 226. which it is evident by the very terms themselves that this Form expresses, nor gives not, having not one word expressing that Power which it cannot give without expressing it.*

Secondly, *Because it wants another essential part, which is, to offer Sacrifice, which the Apostle requires, Heb. 5. 1. saying, Every High Priest taken from among men is Ordained for men in things pertaining to God, that he may offer both Gifts and Sacrifice for sins. Even according to the Protestant Bible, and which cannot be meant only of Christ, as some Protestants would have it ; for in the 3. verse he says, And by reason hereof he ought as for the people, so also for himself to offer for sins : Whereas Christ had no sins of his own to offer for.*

Thirdly, *Because those words, Whose sins, &c. at most gave Power to forgive sins, and not to Consecrate and offer Sacrifice, having nothing to signify that which is the chief Office of Priesthood.*

Fourthly, *Because none could Institute the Form of a Sacrament to give Grace and Power to make present the Body and Blood of Christ, but the Author of Grace, and who had Power over that Sacred Body and Blood : But those that Instituted this Form, were neither Authors of Grace, nor had power over the Sacred Body and Blood : Therefore they could not Institute such a Form. That they who Instituted this Protestant Form had no such Power is proved by the Act of Parliament, the 3, 4 of Edward the VI. Cap. 2. (which could not pretend to such a Power) in these words,*

Forasmuch as to Concord and Unity to be had within the Kings Majesties Dominions, it is requisite to have one Uniform fashion and manner for making and Consecrating Bishops, Priests, &c. Be it therefore Enacted by the Kings Highness, with the Assents of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same (mark by which Authority they are made,) that such Form and manner of making and Consecrating of Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, &c. as by six Prelates and six other men of this Realm, learned in Gods Law by the Kings Majesty (who was but a Child) to be appointed and assigned ; or by the most number of them shall be devised for that purpose, and

and set forth under the Great Seal of England, before the first day of April next coming, and shall by vertue of this present Act (*see what vertues*) be lawfully exercised, and used, and none other, any Statute, Law, or Usage to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. By authority whereof those Prelates, and men learned in the Law invented and made the Form before-mentioned, never heard of before either in Scripture or Church of God.

From which I thus argue and prove my Minor. They that instituted the Form were the King and Parliament, 3, 4 Edward VI. But that King and Parliament were neither Authors of Grace, nor had power over the Body and Blood of Christ: therefore they that Instituted this Form, were neither Authors of Grace, nor had power over the Body and Blood of Christ, nor consequently could make it present.

Fifthly, They are no Priests, because the Bishops that made them were no true Bishops, nor so much as Priests; and no man can give power to another which he hath not himself. That they were no true Bishops nor Priests who pretended to make these Priests (which shall be the second part of my Discourse) I prove thus. **PROTESTANT BISHOPS NO BISHOPS, NOR SO MUCH AS PRIESTS.**

First, They are no Priests, because made by the same Form which other English Ministers were, which I have clearly proved to be null.

That they are no true Bishops, I prove, first out of this very Principle already laid; because they are no true Priests; for as Master Marston, a chief Champion of theirs says, Epist. Ded. ad Episcop. Paris. Seeing he cannot be a Bishop who is not a Priest, if it can be proved we are no Priests, there's an end to our English Church. And the great Doctor of the Church St. Jerom, Dial. cum Lucifero, cap. 8. says. Ecclesia non est quæ non habet Sacerdotem, It is no Church that hath no Priests. The Protestant Bishops therefore being no Priests can be no true Bishops, nor the Church a Church at all.

Secondly, They are no Bishops, because their Form of Ordination is essentially invalid and null, seeing it cannot be valid, (no more than that of Priesthood) unless it be in fit words, which signifies the Order given; as Mr. Malon says in his Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, lib. 1. c. 16. in these terms, Not any words can serve for this Institution, but such as are fit to express the power of the Order given. And the reason is evident, because Ordination being a

Sacrament (as the same Author says, lib. i. n. 8. And Doctor Bramhal, pag. 96. of the Consecration of Protestant Bishops) that is a visible sign of invisible Grace given by it. There must be some visible sign or words in the Form of it, to signifie the Power given, and to determine the matter (which is the Imposition of hands, of it self a dumb sign, and common to Priests and Deacons, Confirming, Curing, &c.) to the Grace of Episcopal Order; otherwise it were sufficient to say at the Imposition of hands. Be thou a Constable, or God make thee an honest man. But there is no such visible sign or words in the Protestant Form, expressing this Episcopal Power given; therefore no such power is given. That there is no such sign or words in the Protestant Form, I prove out of the Form it self, which is this (made in King Edward the VI. time, and continued till the happy Restauration of his Majesty that now is) Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the Grace of God that is in thee by Imposition of hands; for God hath not given us the Spirit of Fear, but of Power, and of Love, and Soberness. In which is not any word signifying Episcopal Power or Ordination; and therefore for this defect in their Form they are no true Bishops.

Against what has been said you will object, first, That I prove them to be no Priests, because they are no Bishops that made them: and on the other side I prove them no Bishops, because they are no Priests; which is a vitious Circle. But I easily answer this, because I first prove à priori, that is, from the essential which ought to give being to each of them, that they are severally null; and each of them being null for that reason, it is evident, that it is a cause of Invalidity in the other, for as he can be no Bishop who is proved to be no Priest, so he can make no Priest, who is proved to be no Bishop.

Secondly, You will object and salve up all the Defects afore-mentioned in one word, to wit, That although the Form used in the Church of England were invalid in King Edward's, Queen Elizabeth's, King James's, and King Charles the First's time, for want of a valid Form of Ordination, yet now it is valid in our Sovereign King Charles the Second's, with whom the Parliament now sitting hath appointed a true Form: Enacting, that for the future, to wit, after St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662. the Form of Ordaining a Priest should be, Receive the Holy Ghost for the Office of a Priest: and of a Bishop, Receive the Holy Ghost for the Office and work of a Bishop.

But

But to this I'll answer you in another word, That the salve is worse than the sore; because by this change of the Form before established, they acknowledge it to be null; for why else need they change it. Secondly, By it they in effect acknowledge all their Bishops and Priests till that time to be null, because Ordained by a Form that was null, and could not give Power it had not, nor signified. Thirdly, Because being no Bishops already they cannot Ordain validly by any Form whatsoever; for no man can give what he has not, as has been said before.

Lastly, Whatsoever Power this Act gives to Ordain, is from the Parliament, and not from Christ; which is what I first undertook to shew, and destroys their Orders root and branch.

Now although the Bishops of the Church of England, and their Ministers grant this change of their Form of Ordination, yet if any one should deny it, you need only look upon the Form of making Bishops, and Priests, made 1558, and which was only used in the Church of England for an hundred years, to be found in every Book-sellers Shop, authorized and commanded in the Act of Uniformity, made 1662, to be only used to St. Bartholomew's Day of that Year; and that other Enacted to be only used from thenceforward, and Printed in the Common-Prayer-Books of Cathedral Churches, out of which I have found it hard to be got; the Bishops, as most think, suppressing it for shame, and leaving it only in those places where it was necessary to be made use of, and not permitting it to be otherwise dispersed abroad, although the Act of Uniformity which made it, commands upon forfeiture of 3 l. for every Month after St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662. that every Church, Chappel, Collegiate Church, College, and Hall should have a true printed Copy of it.

Thus I hope I have fully proved that the Church of England has no true Priest or Bishop for want of Ordination. Now I shall also shew that they have no Jurisdiction or Authority to Teach, Preach, exact Tythes, inflict Censures, to be Pastors, or to exercise any Ecclesiastical Function whatsoever from Christ, but only from the Parliament: and my third Conclusion is,

That Protestant Ministers and Bishops have no Power to Preach, &c. from Christ, but only from the Parliament.

This I prove, because they have no more Power than the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker had, who was the Chief, and from whom (as it were the Conduit of all) Jurisdiction was derived to the rest.

That he had no such Power or Jurisdiction I prove, first, because they that Confirmed and Consecrated him had no such Power to confer upon him of themselves, to wit.

William Barlow, late Bishop of Bath and Wells, now Elect of Chichester; John Scory, late of Chichester, now Elect of Hereford; Miles Coverdale, late of Exeter, and John Hodgskins Bishop Suffragan, *who were none of them actual Bishops of any See, but two Elect only, and another quondam only, and so had no actual Jurisdiction at all, the fourth only Suffragan to Canterbury, and who had no Jurisdiction, but what he had from the Archbishop of Canterbury, much less Authority to give him Jurisdiction over himself, and all the Bishops in the Land, as the other three had no Power at all to give him, much less so transcendent an one, because none can give what he has not.*

Secondly, Because they had their sole Power from the Queen, and she (besides the incapacity of her Sex) had no Power of her self, but only according to the Statutes in that case provided, as appears by her Letters Patent yet extant, and to be seen in the Rolls in these words, Elizabetha Regina, &c. Elizabeth Queen, &c. To the Reverend Father in Christ, William, &c. Where is the Archiepiscopal See of Canterbury, being lately void by the natural death of my Lord Reginald Pool Cardinal, the late and immediate Archbishop and Pastor of it, at the humble Petition of the Dean and Chapter of our Cathedral and Metropolitan Church in Canterbury, called Christs Church, we did by our Letters Patents grant License to them to choose to themselves another for Archbishop and Pastor of the See aforesaid, and they have chosen Matthew Parker, &c. We have given our Royal assent and favour to the said Election; and we signify this to you by the tenor of these presents, requiring, and by the fidelity and love wherein you are bound to us, firmly enjoyning, commanding you, that you, or four of you effectually, Confirm the said Matthew Parker, Archbishop and Pastor Elect of the said Church, and Confirm the said Election, and Consecrate him Archbishop and Pastor of the said Church, and do all other things which in this behalf are incumbent on your Pastoral Office, according to the Form of the Statutes in this case made and provided.

Out of which words, first, I note that the Queen here, and all the Clergy with her, acknowledge Cardinal Pool the true and rightful Archbishop of Canterbury, by which they own Catholick Ordination and Jurisdiction to be valid, lawful, and good.

Secondly,

nd Secondly, I note (and confirm the main assertion) That the Queen knowing the Common Law, and ancient Laws of the Kingdom, required the Authority, Consent, and Commission (or Bull) of the Pope, to impower the Confirmers and Consecrators of the Archbishop of Canterbury as the only Superior of that See; and withal that he would not grant and give it to make a Protestant Archbishop: she by her Supreme Authority, as Head of the Church of England, not only authorized them that were to Confirm and Consecrate him, but also (Pope-like) supplied all defects, whether in Quality, faculty, or any other thing wanting and necessary in the Consecrators for that performance by the Laws of the Church or Kingdom: for so it followed in the same Patent, Supplying nevertheless by our Supreme Regal Authority, if any thing in you, or any of you, or in your condition, state, or faculty, to the performance of the Premises is wanting of these things, that by the Statutes of our Realm, or the Ecclesiastical Laws in this behalf are requisite or necessary (which she therefore supposed and knew well enough to be necessary and wanting, for otherwise it had been in vain for her to supply them) the condition of the time and necessity of things requiring it.

By which you see they could do neither of these Acts of Confirming or Consecrating him Archbishop of Canterbury without her Commission, which was not only necessary to empower them, but also to dispense with them, and make their Acts valid non obstante, notwithstanding the Laws of the Land.

That these Letters Patents Authorized them is clear out of the Instrument of his Confirmation, to be seen in the Records at Lambeth in their own words following.

In the name of the Lord, Amen. We William Barlow, John Miles, &c. by the Queens Commissionall Letters specially and lawfully deputed Commissioners, &c. by the Supreme Authority of the Queen to us in this behalf committed, confirm the said Election of Matthew Parker, &c. supplying by the Supreme Authority of the Queen to us delegated, if any thing be wanting in us, or any of us, or in our Condition, State, or Faculty to the performance of the Premises of these things, that by the Statutes of the Realm, or the Ecclesiastical Laws in this behalf are requisite or necessary, &c. as above.

And whereas the Popes Commission (or Bull) used to be produced

ced, by authority of which all Archbishops of Canterbury were Consecrated, and their Election confirmed. Now in place of that, says the Act of it upon Parker's Records, Proferebatur Regium Mandatum pro ejus Consecratione. The Queens Mandate or Commission for Consecrating him, was produc'd as the Authority for what they did.

Lastly, I prove that the Queen had her Authority from the Parliament. First, from the Statute 25 Henry 8. cap. 20. where the Parliament repeats, out of another Act made that present Parliament, That if any Elected by the King, and presented to the See of Rome to be Archbishop or Bishop, should be delayed, then he should be Consecrated by two Bishops appointed by the King: And then in the same Statute grants further, that all recourse be forbidden to Rome, and Archbishops and Bishops be Confirmed and Consecrated by Bishops to be assigned by the King.

Secondly, Out of the Act of 8 Eliz. 1. made purposely to set forth the Authority next under God, by which Matthew Parker and the other first Protestant Bishops in the beginning of the Queens Reign were made, by reciting how they were made by the Authority of her Majesty, and how she was authorized to that end by the aforesaid Statute of Henry VIII. and the Statute of 1 Eliz. 1. in these words,

First, It is well known to all the degrees of this Realm, that the late King Henry the Eight was as well by all the Clergy then of this Realm in their severall Convocations, as also by all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in divers of his Parliaments justly and rightfully recognized and acknowledged to have the Supreme Power, Jurisdiction, and Authority over the Ecclesiastical State of the same, and that the said King did in the twenty fifth year of his Reign set forth a certain order of the Manner and Form, how Archbishops and Bishops should be made, &c. And although in the Reign of the late Queen the said Act was repealed, yet nevertheless at the Parliament 1 Eliz. the said Act was revived, and by another Act they made all Jurisdiction, Priviledges, &c. Spiritual and Ecclesiastical, as by any Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Power or Authority hath hitherto been, or lawfully may be used over the Ecclesiastical State of this Realm, is fully and absolutely by Authority of the same Parliament (mark by what Authority) united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm (mark here how she is made

made Pope) and by the same Statute there is also given to the Queen (mark Given) Power and Authority by Letters Patents to Assign and Authorize such Persons as she shall think fit (whether Clergy-men, Lawyers, Merchants, Coblers, or any other, so they be naturally born Subjects of the Realm, for the Statutes requires no more) to exercise under her all manner of Jurisdiction in any wise touching or concerning any Spiritual Jurisdiction in this Realm. Whereupon the Queen having in her order and disposition all the said Jurisdictions, &c. hath by her Supreme Authority caused divers to be duly made and Consecrated Archbishops and Bishops, according to such Order and Form, and with such Ceremonies in and about their Consecration, as were allowed and set out by the said Acts, &c. And further, her Highness hath in her Letters Patents used divers special words whereby, by her Supreme Authority she hath dispensed with all causes and doubts of imperfections or disability, &c. as is to be seen more at large in the same Act.

In which you see declared by the Queen, Matthew Parker himself, and the whole Parliament: That Matthew Parker the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury was made Archbishop (as all the other Protestant Bishops in her time) by Authority of the Queen, and that she had her Authority for it from the Statutes, 25 Henry 8. 20. and 1 Eliz. 1. from whom all our Protestant Bishops since spring and descend, and derive all the Power and Authority that they have.

From which you see clearly that Protestant Bishops have no Authority to Teach, Preach, or to be Bishops, but what originally they have from the Parliament. Which is still more evidently confirmed by this Parliament now in being, which in the year 1662. by the Act of Uniformity, annulled the forementioned Forms of Ordination of Priests and Bishops (as being deficient) and appointed new ones by their own Authority. So from the first to the last, all the Protestant Priests and Bishops both heretofore and at this present, are only Parliamentary Priests and Bishops, and not so from Christ and his Church, but only from their Kings, Queens, and Parliament.

I must confess this present Parliament may easily answer the Parliaments of Edward the VI. and Queen Elizabeth, why it hath lately altered the Form of Ordination, instituted and used by them; to wit, because their Forms were null and invalid, but what Authority either

of

of them had to make, alter, or use any Form of Ordination, or to give Power to Teach, Preach, Minister Sacraments, or the like, of themselves, without Authority from Christ our Saviour, there I must leave them to answer him.

From the Premises I infer,

First, That they being no Priests nor Bishops, theirs is no Church; as Mr. Mason and St. Jerom grant.

Secondly, If no Church, no part of the Catholic Church, out of which, and without whose Faith kept entire and inviolate, no man can be saved; as their own Common-prayer-book affirms.

Thirdly, They can never eat the Flesh of Christ our Lord, nor drink his Blood, without which they cannot have life in them, John 6. 54.

Fourthly, They commit a most heinous Sacrilege as often as they attempt to Consecrate or Minister the most Holy Sacrament, having no such Power.

Fifthly, They commit the like Sacrilege in presuming to hear Confessions, or forgive Sins.

Sixthly, All that Communicate with them, and follow the same Religion, are involved in the same sins, so that the blind leading the blind they must necessarily both fall into the ditch of eternal perdition, foretold by our Saviour, Matth. 15. 14.

Lastly, It is to be noted, that although I conceive I have clearly proved the Ordination and Jurisdiction of their Priests and Bishops to be invalid by every argument I have used to those ends, yet to my purpose it is sufficient to have proved it by any one: For as to prove a man to be a Thief or Forger, it is sufficient to prove he has stolen one Horse, or forged one Deed, to hang him for the one, or set him on the Pillory for the other, so to prove by one argument alone that they are no Priests, nor Bishops, nor have any Jurisdiction, is sufficient to prove them guilty of Sacramental Forgery, and by that means of deluding and stealing away innumerable souls,

A
VINDICATION
 OF THE
ORDINATIONS
 OF THE
 Church of *ENGLAND*,
 In Answer to the former Paper.

THIS Paper which you sent me being only a Repetition of those Objections which were long ago refuted by Master *Mason*, with great learning and judgement, and more lately by the most Ingenious Lord Primate of Ireland, Dr. *Bramhall*, there needs nothing else be said to it, but only to refer the Reader to those learned and solid Writings on this Subject. The same Plea was again taken up by the Writers of two little Books published since his Majesties Restauration, entitled *Erasmus Senior* and *Erasmus Junior*; which was thought so unreasonable even to some of that Communion, that one of the learnedst Priests they had in *England* did answer them; and though he did not adventure on saying our Ordination was good and valid,

F knowing

A Vindication of the Ordinations

knowing how ingrateful that would have been to his Party, yet he did overthrow all those Arguments against it that are brought in this Paper, and shew'd they were of no force. This Writing of his has not been yet printed, but I have perus'd it in the Manuscript. Yet that this may not seem to be a declining of the task you have invited me to, and because the Books I have mentioned are not perhaps in your hands, I shall say as much in answer to it as, I hope, may fully satisfy you or any impartial Reader.

The substance of the first argument to prove that our Ministers are not Priests, is, That by the form of our Ordination the Power of Consecrating the Sacrament of Christ's most Holy Body and Blood, is not given: The words only importing a Power to *dispense the Sacraments* which any Deacon may do: Therefore the power of Consecrating or making Christ's Body and Blood present, being essential to the Priesthood, and our form not expressing it, and by consequence not giving it, it wants one essential requisite to the Priesthood, and therefore those that are Ordained by it, are not true Priests.

To which I answer,

1. If our Form be the same in which Christ Ordained his Apostles, we may be very well satisfied that it is good and sufficient. Now when our Saviour Ordained them, St. John tells us that he said, *Receive the Holy Ghost, whose soever sins ye remit they are remitted to them, and whose soever sins ye retain they are retained*: this being that Mission which he gave them (as the preceding words do clearly import; *As the Father hath sent me, so send I you*) we can think no Form so good and so full as that he made use of. It is true, we do not judge any Form so essential as to annul all Ordinations that have been made by any other, for then we should condemn both the Ordinations of the Primitive Churches, and of the Eastern Churches at this day.

And this is the reason why even according to the Ancient and most generally received Maxims of the Schools, Orders can be no Sacraments (tho in the general sense of the word Sacrament, it being no term used in Scripture, but brought into the Church, we shall not much dispute against its being called

called so) for by their Doctrin both Matter and Form of the

Sacrament must be instituted by Christ, and are not in the power of the Church*.

Now they cannot but acknowledge that the Form of giving Orders in their Church, was not instituted by Christ, nor received in the Church for divers Ages, which made Pope Innocent say, that the *Forms of Ordination were ordered and invented by the Church, and were therefore to be observed, otherwise it was sufficient in giving Orders, to say, Be thou a Bishop, or be thou a Priest;* therefore

though we do not annul Orders given by any other Form, yet we have all reason to conclude that used by our Saviour, to be not only sufficient, but absolutely the best and fittest.

It is without all colour of reason, that the Writers of that Church will have the Words our Saviour pronounced, after he had instituted the *Eucharist*, *This do in remembrance of me*, to be the Form by which he ordained them Priests; for *This do*, must relate to the whole action of the Sacrament, the Receiving and Eating, as well as the Blessing and Consecrating; therefore these words are only a Command to the Church to continue the use of the Holy Sacrament in Remembrance of Christ. Nor do those of the Church of Rome think these were the words by which Christ ordained them Priests, otherwise they would use them and think them sufficient; but they use them not, but instead of them say, *Receive thou Power to offer Sacrifice to God, and to celebrate Mass both for the Living and the Dead.*

2. If this be an essential defect in our Ordination, then there were no true Priests in the Primitive Church for divers Ages, and there are no true Priests at this day in the Greek

* *Vasques in 3 parte, D. 129. c. 5. n. 71, 72.* Says it is the constant opinion of the *Catholicks*, that the Sacraments consist of some things and words Instituted by God, which men cannot alter or change, and that Christ delivered both the words and things of which the Sacraments consist. Which he says are necessary in all Churches, and rejects the Opinion of Pope Innocent the 4th. and others, who pretend that some things are necessary to the Sacraments in some Churches, which are not necessary in other Churches, and *Disp. 239. in 3. p. c. 4. n. 36.* He again resumes the same thing, and refutes *Tapperus*, who thought that in some Sacraments in which Christ did not determine the Matter and Form he left the power of assigning these with his Church. Which he denies, and says, no Power about the determination of the Matter and Form was left with the Church; but the assignation of those is believed, done by Christ, for since the institution of the Sacrament is by Divine right, the Matter and Form must be assigned by the same right; for proving which, he cites the Council of Trent.

Church ; and yet neither of these can be acknowledged by the Church of *Rome*, for if they annul the Ordinations of the Primitive Church, they likewise annul their own which are derived from them. They do also own the Orders of the *Greek* Church to be valid, as appears by their receiving them into their Communion at the Council of *Florence*, and by their practice ever since ; which *Morinus* hath in the first part of his Work so fully proved from the decrees of Popes and Councils, that the thing can no more be doubted ; and at this day there are *Greek* Churches at *Rome*, maintain'd at the Popes charge, in which Orders are given according to the *Greek Pontificals*, as he informs us.

That in the Primitive Forms there were no express words of giving power to consecrate the Sacrament ; I appeal to the Collection of the most Antient Forms of Ordination, that *Morinus* a Priest of that Church, and a Penitentiary in great esteem at *Rome*, has made, where it will be found that for many Ages this power was not given expressly, or in so many words. The most ancient *Rubrick* about this, is in the 4th. Council of *Carthage*, if those Canons be genuine, *When a Priest is ordained, the Bishop blessing him and laying his hand on his head, all the Priests that are present shall likewise lay their hands on his head about the Bishops hand* : Where we see that the Imposition of hands and the Bishop's blessing, was all the matter and form of these Orders. *Denis* (called the *Areopagite*) tells us that the Priest that was to be Ordained, kneeled before the Bishop, who laid his hand on his head and did Consecrate him with a holy Prayer, and then marked him with the sign of the Cross ; and the Bishop and the rest of the Clergy that were present, gave him the Kiss of Peace. Here we find nothing but imposition of Hands and Prayer. Now there being no general Liturgies nor Ordinals then in the World, but every Countrey (or perhaps every Diocese) having their own Forms, it was never defined in what form of words this Prayer and Benediction should be used ; but was left indifferent, so the substance of the Blessing were preserved. It is true, the Author of those Constitutions that are ascribed to the Apostles, sets down the Prayer of Ordination, for which he vouches

Saint John Author ; which is, *That the Priest might be filled with*

De Ord. Sac.

Can. 3.

*De Eccles.
Hierar.*

Lib. 8. cap. 16.

with the Spirit of Grace and Wisdom to help and govern the Flocks with a pure heart, that he might meekly teach the people, being full of healing Operations and instructive Discourses, and might serve God sincerely with a pure mind and willing soul, and might through Christ perfect the sacred Services for the people; in which there is nothing that gives in express words, the power of Consecration.

In the most ancient Ritual that *Morinus* could find, which belonged to the Church of *Poitiers*, and has been composed about the middle of the 6th. Century; there is no mention in the Prayer of Consecration of any such power.

The same Prayer of Consecration is also in another Ritual which he believes 900 years old: and also in another, that he believes 800 years old. It is true, in these Rituals there is a Blessing added, in which among other things the Consecrator prays, *that by the obedience of the people the Priest may transform the Body and Blood of thy Son by an undefiled Benediction*; But here is no power given, nor is this Prayer essential to the Orders so given, but a subsequent Benediction: Therefore the want of it cannot annul Orders. And in another MSS. Ritual belonging to the Abbey of *Corbey*, written about the middle of the 9th. Century, there is nothing but the Prayer of the Consecration of a Priest, which is the same with what is in the other Rituals, but the blessing which mentions *the transforming of the Body of Christ*, is not in it, by which it appears that it was not looked on as essential to Orders. And in another Ritual compiled for the Church of *England*, now lying in the Church of *Rouen*, believed to be about 800 years old, the Form of Consecration is the same that it is in the other Rituals. The ancient Ritual of the Church of *Rhemes*, about the same age, and divers other ancient Rituals agree with these. But the first mention of this power of saying Mass, given in the Consecration of Priests, is in a Ritual believed to be 700 years old, compiled by some near *Rome*, in which the Rite of delivering the Vessels, with these words, *Receive power to offer Sacrifice to God, and to celebrate Masses, &c.* is first set down; yet that is wanting in a Ritual of *Belay*, written about the Thousandth year, so that it was not univer-

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† *Deus Sancti-
ficatio.*

*Discourse sur les
Ordres Sacres,*

universally received for near an Age after it was first brought in. Now in all these Rituals the Prayer of Consecration is that which is now in the Pontifical only one of the Prayers of the Office †, but is not the Prayer of Consecration, from which two things clearly follow; First, that no Form of Ordination is so essential, but that the Church may change it and put another in its room, and if the other be apposite and fit, there is no fault committed by the Change, much less such an one as invalidates the Orders so given. Secondly, It is clearly made out, that in the Ordinations of the Primitive Church for 900. years after Christ, there was no power of Consecrating Christ's Body and Blood expressly given in the Forms and words of Ordination. So that if the want of such words annuls our Ordinations, it will do the same to theirs; the consequence of which, will be; that there were no true Orders in the Church of God till the latter Rites in the *Roman Pontifical* were invented? and if that be true, then the Orders of the *Roman* Church which have descended from them, are not true, since they flow from men not truly Ordained. And at this day the *Greek Church* (as is set down by the Learned and Pious Bishop of *Venice* treating of the matter and Form of Orders) when they Ordain give no such power, but the Bishop lays on his right hand on the Priest's head, and says, *The Grace of God that always heals the things that are weak, and perfects things that are imperfect, promotes this very Reverend Deacon to be a Priest: Let us therefore pray for him that the Grace of the most Holy Spirit come upon him.* Then those that assist, say thrice for him, *Kyrie Eleison.* Then the Bishop makes the Sign of the Cross, and prays for the Grace of God on the Priest thus Ordained, holding his hand all the while over his head; then he puts the Priestly Vestments on him, and gives him the Kiss of Peace, which is also done by the rest of the Clergy there present.

And *Habert* a Doctor of *Sorbonne*, who has published the *Greek Pontifical* with learned Observations on it, gives us this same account of their Ordinations which *Morinus* has confirmed by the several Ancient *Greek MSS.* which he has published, one of them being 800 years old, which agrees with

with it; and neither in the first Prayer, nor second (during both which the Bishop holds his hands over the Head of him that is to be Consecrated) is there any mention made of this power of Consecrating Christ's Body and Blood. And in the Rituals of the *Maronites*, *Nestorians*, and *Cophthites* (all which *Morinus* proves are held good and valid by the Church of *Rome*) there is no such power given in the words of Consecration: Their Forms being almost the same with those used in the *Greek Church*: So that we generally find Imposition of hands with a Prayer for Grace, and a Blessing, were looked on as sufficient for Ordination: And this was

taken from the practices of the Apostles, who Ordained by Prayer and imposition of Hands, as appears from the places cited in the Margent; and that these Prayers were, that God might pour out the gifts and graces of his Spirit on them: Both the nature of the thing, and some of the cited places do fully prove. From all which it appears, that either our Ordinations

are valid, or there are no true Orders in the whole Christian Church; no not in the Church of *Rome* it self.

3. The very Doctrine and practice of the Church of *Rome* shews that the essentials of Ordination remain still with us. By the Maxims of the Schools there must be matter and form in every Sacrament; the Matter is some outward sensible action or thing; the Form are the words applied to that action or thing which hallow it, and give the Character, when (as they say) the indelible Character is impressed (which they believe is done by Orders.) The imposition of hands is held to be the Matter by almost all their Doctors, as is acknowledged by *Bellarmino*; *Vasques*, and most of the Schoolmen are of this mind. It is true, *Eugenius* in his Instruction to the

Acts 6. 6. Whom they set before the Apostles and when they had prayed, they laid their hands on them.

Acts 13. 3. And when they had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away.

Acts 14. 23. And when they had Ordained (or literally imposed Hand;) them Elders in every Church and had prayed with fasting.

1 *Tim.* 4. 14. Neglect not the gift that is in thee which was given thee by Prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery.

1 *Tim.* 5. 22. Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be thou partaker of other mens sins.

2 *Tim.* 1. 6, 7. Wherefore I put thee in remembrance that thou stir up the gift of God which is in thee, by the putting on of my hands.

For God hath not given us the Spirit of Fear, but of Power, and of Love, and of a sound mind.

Bellarmino, de Sac. Ord. cap. 2.

Ar-

Cap. de extr.
Unct.

De Sacr. Ord.
Can. 4.

Armenians, set down in the Council of *Florence*, declares that the giving the Sacred Vessels, is the Matter in Orders; but the Council of *Trent* (which was a far more learned and cautious Assembly than the other was, in which there was nothing but Ignorance and Deceit) determined that Priests have their Orders by the Imposition of hands; for treating of Extream Unction, they decreed that *the Minister of it was either the Bishop or Priests lawfully Ordained by them, by the Imposition of the hands of the Presbytery.* And *Bellarmino*, both from the Scriptures and the Fathers, proves that the Imposition of hands must be the Matter of this Sacrament, since they speak of it, and of it only. Now if this be the Matter of this Sacrament, then the Form of it must be the words joyned with it in their Pontifical, *Receive the Holy Ghost.* And the Council of *Trent* does clearly insinuate, that this is the Form of Orders in these words; *If any man say that in Ordination, the Holy Ghost is not given; and therefore that the Bishop says in vain, Receive the Holy Ghost, or by it a Character is not impressed—Let him be an Anathema.* It is true, their Doctors to reconcile the disagreement of those two Councils, have devised the distinction of the power of Sacrificing, and of the power of Jurisdiction in a Priest. The last they confess, is given by the Imposition of hands, the former they say, is given by the delivering of the Sacred Vessels.

And indeed, as *Morinus* doth often observe, the School-men being very Ignorant both of the more Ancient Rites of the Church, and of the practice of the *Eastern Churches*, and looking only on the Rituals then Received in the *Latin Church*, have made strange work about the matter and Form of Ordination; but now that they begin to see a little further than they did, then they are of a far different opinion; so *Vasques*, whom the School-men of this Age, look on as an Oracle, treating of Episcopal Orders, says in express words, *That the Imposition of Hands is the Matter, and the words uttered with it, are the Form of Orders, and that the Sacramental Grace is conferred in and by the application of the Matter and Form.*

Tom. 3. m. 3.
Disp. 24. c. 3.

It is true: He joyns in with the commonly received
Doctrine

Doctrine of the Schools about the two Powers given to Priests by a double matter and form, yet he cites (a) *Bona-venture*; and (b) *Petrus Sotus*, for this opinion, that the Imposition of hands, and the words joined with it, were the matter and form of Priestly Orders; and though *Vasques* himself undertakes to prove the other Opinion, as that which agrees best with the Principles of their Church, yet it is visible he thought the other Opinion truer; for when he proves Orders to be a Sacrament, he lays down for a Maxim, that the outward Rite and Ceremony, the Promise of Grace, and the command for the continuance, must be all found in Scripture before any thing is to be acknowledged a Sacrament: and when pursuant to this, he proves that the Rite of Orders is in Scripture, he assigns no other but the Imposition of hands: so that according to his own Doctrine, that is the only Sacramental Rite, or the matter of Orders.

And Cardinal de Lugo says, *The giving the Bread and the Wine we know is not determinately required by any Divine Institution, since the Greeks are Ordained without it; therefore it is to be confessed that Christ only intended there should be some proportioned Sign for the matter of Orders, either this or that.* And it is now the most commonly received Opinion, even amongst the Schoolmen, that Christ neither determined the Matter, nor the Form of Orders, but left both to the Church. And *Habert* proves that the Greek Form of Ordination is sufficient to express the Grace of God then prayed for, which is the chief thing in Ordination; and though the Greek Fathers do not mention these words that are now used as the Form in their days, yet he cites many places out of their Writings, by which they seem to allude to those words, though the custom then received of speaking mystically and darkly of all the Rites of the Church, made that they did not deliver themselves more plainly about it; but he concludes his second Observation in these words: *In those Sacraments where the Matter and Form are not expressed in Scripture, it must be supposed that Christ did only in general institute both to his Apostles, leaving a power with the Church to design, constitute, and determine these in several ways; so that the chief Substance, Intention, and Scope of the Institution, were retained with some general fitness and analogy for signifying the effect of this Sacrament.*

Disp. 239. cap. 2. n. 5.
(a) *In 4 Disp. 24. pract. quest. 1.*
(b) *Lib. de Ju. Sacer. Lect. 5. de Sacr. Disp. 235. c. 3.*

Disp. de Sacr. n. 87.

Observ. 1. § 2. de Ord. Pres.

Tit. 3. de cons. Pres.

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And if both the Eastern and Western Churches have made Rituals, which though they differ one from another, yet are good and valid ; it seems very unreasonable to deny the Church of *England*, which is as free and independent a Church as any of them, the same right ; for it is to be observed, that the *Catholic* Church did never agree on one Uniform Ritual, or Book of Ordination, but that was still left to the freedom of particular Churches ; and so this Church has as much power to make or alter Rituals, as any other has : Therefore the Substantials of Ordination being still retained, which are Imposition of hands, with fit Prayers and Blessings, it is most unreasonable to except against our Forms of Ordination.

Let it be also considered, that it is indeed true, that the last Imposition of hands, with the words, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, appointed in the Pontifical, is not above 400 years old, nor can any Ancienter MSS be shewed in which it is found ; yet that is now most commonly received in the Church of *Rome*, to be the matter and form of Ordination ; for all their Doctors hold, that either the delivering the Vessels, and saying, *Receive Power to offer Sacrifice, &c.* or the Imposition of hands, with the words, *Receive the Holy Ghost, &c.* is the Matter and Form of Orders.

Exerc. 7. cap. 1. Against the former, *Morinus* has said so much, that I need add nothing ; for by unanswerable Arguments, he proves that is not essential to Orders, since neither the Primitive Church, the Eastern Churches, nor the *Roman* Rituals, or the Writers on the *Roman* Offices, ever mention it till within these 700 years, and at first it was only done in the Consecration of Bishops, and afterwards (by custom, no Decree of Council or Pope being to be found about it) it was used in the Ordination of Priests.

Exerc. 7. cap. 2. The same Author doth also study to prove, that the Imposition of the Bishops hands, with the words, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, is not essential to Ordination, but is only a Benediction superadded to it, and shews that it was not used in the Primitive Church, nor mentioned by any ancient Writer ; and therefore he is of opinion that the first Imposition of hands gives the Orders in which both Bishop and Priests lay on their hands, and pray that God would multiply his Gifts on those whom he had chosen to the function of a Priest, that what they received by his favour, they might attain by his help, through Christ our Lord. If this be true, then

then two things are to be well observed. First, That the Prayer, which according to his opinion, is the Prayer of Consecration, was not esteemed so by the Ancient Rituals, in which it is only called a *Prayer for the Priests that were to be Ordained*; after which, the Prayer of Consecration followed; from which it appears that there was no constant rule in giving Orders; and that what the Church once held to be but a preparatory Prayer, was afterwards made the Prayer of Consecration; and that which they esteemed the Prayer of Consecration, was afterwards held but a Prayer of Benediction. Secondly, That in the formal words of Consecration (if his Opinion be true) there is no power given of consecrating the Sacraments.

But *Morinus* is alone in this opinion, and it is certain that the general Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, is, that the last Imposition of hands is the Matter of these Orders, and parallel to this is the Imposition of hands in the Consecration of a Bishop, with the words, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, which is undoubtedly the matter of Episcopal Orders: Therefore that same Rite with these words, is also the matter of the Priestly Orders. And it is a foolish and groundless Conceit, to pretend there are two distinct Powers essential to the Priesthood to be conferred by two several Rites; for then all who were Ordained by one of these Rites without the other (as were all the Priests of the Christian World, till within these seven hundred years) had not the Priestly Office entire and compleat. And further, according to their own Principles, the Character is an Indivisible thing, and inseparably joyned to the Sacrament; Therefore that which gives the Character, gives the Sacrament. Now according to their Doctrine, the Character is given by the Imposition of hands: Therefore the Sacrament consists in that. And all the other Rites are only Ceremonies added to it, which are not of the essence of it; from which it follows that we who use Imposition of hands, with the words, *Receive the Holy Ghost, &c.* use all that according to the Doctrine of that Church is necessary to it; and therefore they have no reason to except against the validity of our Orders, even according to their own Principles.

Fourthly, If by Consecrating, or making present Christ's Blessed Body, they understand the incredible Mystery of *Transubstantiation*, we very freely confess there is no such power given

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to our Priests by their Orders: But I shall not digress from this Subject to another; therefore I may confine my Discourse to it; I acknowledg that we do receive by our Orders, all the power of Consecrating the Sacraments which Christ has left with his Church.

First, When we are Ordained to be Priests, there is given us all that which our Church declares, inseparable to the Priesthood; and such is the Consecrating the *Eucharist*: Therefore it being declared and acknowledged on all sides, what Functions are proper to the Priesthood if we be Ordained Priests, though there were no further Declaration made in the Form of Ordination, yet the other concomitant actions and offices, shewing that we are made Priests, all that belongs to that Function is therein given to us; this made Pope *Innocent* define that, *Beibon a Priest*, was a sufficient Form in it self.

Secondly, The great end of all the Priestly Functions, being to make reconciliation between God and Man; for which cause *Saint Paul* calls it the *Ministry of Reconciliation*; whatever gives the power for that, must needs give also the means necessary for it; therefore the Sacrament being a Mean instituted by our Saviour for the Remission of Sins, which he intimated in these words: *This Cup is the New Testament in my Blood for the Remission of Sins*; and the death of Christ being also the great Mean in order to that end, the power of forgiving sins Ministerially, must carty with it the power of doing all that is instituted for attaining that end.

Thirdly, The power of Consecrating the Sacraments, is very fully and formally given in our Ordination, in these words: *Be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God, and of his Holy Sacraments*; where they bewray great inconsideration, that think *Dispensing* is barely the distributing the Sacrament, which a Deacon may do; the word is taken from the *Latin*, and is the same by which they render those words of *St. Paul*, *Stewards of the Mysteries of God*; or according to the Style of the Church of *Rome*, which Translates *Mystery*, Sacrament; *Dispensers of the Sacraments of God*; Therefore this being a phrase wherein *St. Paul* expressed the Apostolical Function, one might think it could serve to express the office of a Priest well enough; so that *Dispensing* is more than *Distributing*; and is such a power as a Steward hath, who knows and considers every ones condition, and prepares what

what is fit and proper for them; therefore the blessing of the Sacraments being a necessary part of the *Dispensing* of them, they being blessed for that end, and the *Dispensing* them, including the whole Office in which the Church appoints the Sacraments to be dispensed, of which Consecration is a main part; these words do clearly give and manifestly import the power of consecrating the Sacraments.

Now the Question comes to this: What is meant by the word *Dispensing*; They say it is only to distribute the Elements; we say it is to administer the Sacrament according to the Office. If what we say be the true signification of it; then the power of consecrating the Elements, is formally given with our Orders. And that this is the true meaning of it, appears both from common use; which makes it more than barely to Distribute; and from the declared meaning of those who use it, which is the only rule to judge of all doubtful expressions: Now the declared meaning of our Church in the use of this word being so express and positive; from thence it follows, that by *Dispense* must be understood, to give the Sacrament according to the whole Office of the Church.

The same is also to be said of the words, *Take thou Authority to preach the Word of God, and to minister the Holy Sacraments*; for tho *Minister* and *Serve* in the Greek Tongue, be the same; yet *Minister* in our common acceptation, is all one with *Administer*, only *Minister* is more usual when the thing Ministered is Sacred or Holy; therefore this takes also in it the whole Office of the Sacrament: And as in the former words the Power is given; so in these words it is applied and restrained in its exercise to a due vocation, to cut off idle, itinerant, and for the most part, scandalous Priests.

And thus far I have considered this first Argument at great length, both because it is that of which they make most use to raise Scruples in the thoughts of unlearned persons; and the clearing of it will make way for answering the rest. Therefore leaving this, I go to the Second Argument; which is, That the offering of Sacrifice is an essential part of Priesthood. So *Heb. 5. 1. and 3.* therefore we having no such power conferred on us, cannot be true Priests.

To this I Answer.

First, It is strange Inconsideration to argue from the Epistle

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to the *Hebrews*, that the Pastors of the Christian Church ought to be Priests in the sense that is mentioned in that Epistle; the scope of which is to prove, That Christ is the only Priest of this new Dispensation: And the Notion of a Priest in that Epistle, is a person called and consecrated to offer some living Sacrifice, and to slay it, and by the shedding of the Blood of the Sacrifice slain, to make reconciliation: This being the sense in which the Jews understood it; the Apostle among other Arguments to prove the death of Christ to be the true Sacrifice, brings this for one, that there was to be another Priesthood after the Order of Melchisedeck. For proving this, he lays down in the first Four Verses of the 5th. Chapter, the Jewish notion of a Priest; then he goes on to prove that Christ was such a Priest, called of God and Consecrated; this he prosecutes more fully in the 7th. Chapter, where he asserts that Christ was *that other Priest after the Order of Melchisedeck*; and v. 15. he calls him *another Priest*, and v. 23. and 24. makes this plainer in these words; *And they truly were many Priests, because they were not suffered to continue by reason of Death; but this man, because he continueth ever, hath an unchangeable Priesthood*: From which it is apparent that the Apostles design in these places, is to prove that there is but one Priest in that sense mentioned chap. 5. 1. under the New Testament. And had the Writer of this Paper read over that Epistle, he must needs have seen this; but this is one of the effects of their not reading the Scriptures carefully, that they make use of places of Scripture, never considering any thing more than the general sound of some words, without examining what goes along with them.

But as it is clear from that Epistle, that there is but one Priest in the strict Notion of it; so it is no less clear that there is but one propitiatory Sacrifice among Christians in its strict Notion; for having mentioned the frequent Oblations to take away sins under the Mosaic Law, chap. 5. v. 3. he makes the opposition clear, chap. 7. v. 27. in these words, *Who needeth not daily as those High Priests, to offer up Sacrifice, first for his own sins, and then for the People; for this he did once when he offered up himself*. And chap. 9. v. 7. having mentioned the High Priests annual entring into the most Holy place; he sets in opposition to it, v. 12. *Christ's entring in once to the Holy place, having made Redemption for us by his own Blood*. And v. 22. he says, *Without shedding of Blood there was no Remission*; by which he does clearly

clearly put down all unbloody Sacrifices that are propitiatory : And v. 28. he says, *Christ was offered once to bear the sins of many.* And chap. 10. v. 2. he says, *That when the Worshippers are once purged, then would not Sacrifices cease to be offered.* To prove that the Sacrifices of the Law had not that Virtue : Therefore we being purged by the Blood of Christ, must offer no more propitiatory Sacrifices ; and all this is made yet clearer, v. 11, and 12. *And every Priest stands daily ministering and offering oftentimes the same Sacrifices which can never take away sins.* But this man after he had offered up one Sacrifice for sins for ever, sat down on the right Hand of God. From all which you may see, it is as plain as can be, that there is but one Priest and one propitiatory Sacrifice under the New Testament ; for the places I have cited, are not some ambiguous or dark Expressions, but full and formal Proofs, by which in a long Series of Discourse and Argument, the thing is put out of doubt. Therefore those of that Church do very unwisely ever to mention that Epistle, or to say any thing that may oblige people to look upon it ; So that, except to such as they are sure will read no more of it than they will shew them or cite to them, they had best speak of it to no body else.

Secondly, Though we deny all propitiatory Sacrifices, but that which our Blessed Saviour offered for us once on the Cross ; yet we acknowledg that we have Sacrifices in the true strict and Scriptural notion of that word ; for propitiatory ones are but one sort of Sacrifice, which in its general notion stands for any Holy Oblations made to God ; and in this sense, Thank-Offerings, Peace-Offerings, and Free-will Offerings, were Sacrifices under the Law ; so were also their Commemorative Sacrifices, of the *Paschal Lamb*, which were all Sacrifices, though not Propitiatory. And in this sense

* our prayers and praises ; a broken heart, and the dedicating

* *Psal. 142. 2.*
Let my Prayer
be set forth
before thee

as Incense, and the lifting up of my hands as the Evening Sacrifice.

Psal. 52. 27. The Sacrifices of God are a broken Spirit, a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.

Hebr. 13. 15. By him therefore let us offer the Sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is the fruit of our Lips, giving Thanks to his Name.

Rom. 12. 1. I beseech you therefore, Brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your Bodies a living Sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service.

Philip. 4. 18. But I have all, and abound ; I am full, having received of *Epaphroditus*, the things which were sent from you, an Odor of a sweet smell, a Sacrifice acceptable, well pleasing to God.

our

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our lives to the Service of God, are Sacrifices, and are so called in Scripture; so also is the giving of Alms. And in this sense we deny not but the Holy Eucharist is a Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving; and it is so called in one of the Collects. It is also a Commemoration of that one Sacrifice which it represents, and by which the worthy receivers have the Virtue of that applied to them. The Oblation of the Elements of Bread and Wine to be Sanctified, is also a kind of Sacrifice; and in all these Senses we acknowledg the Sacrament to be a true Sacrifice, as the Primitive Church did.

But as we do not allow it to be a propitiatory Sacrifice for the living, much less can we believe it such for the dead; or that the Priests consecrating and consuming of it, is a Sacrifice for the people; it being a Sacrifice as it is a Sacrament, which is only to those who receive it. And in these three points; First, That it is no propitiatory Sacrifice: 2. That the dead receive no good from it: 3. That the Priests taking it alone, does no good to the people who receive it not: We are sure we have all Antiquity of our side. But to digress upon that, were to go too far out of the way; and the Writers of Controversies have done it fully. Therefore the power of *Dispensing the Word of God and of his Holy Sacraments*, gives all the Authority that is in the Christian Church for offering of Sacrifices. And if they deny this, they must deny the validity of all the ancient Ordinations, for they can shew no such Form in any of their Ordinals.

Thirdly, What was said before of the Doctrine of the Church of Rome about the Matter and Form of Orders, as they are a Sacrament, shews that the power they give in the Ordination of Priests, of offering Sacrifices, is not essential to it, but only a Rite they have added to it; the want whereof can be no essential defect, and so can never annul our Orders: What was said before in Answer to the first Argument, is again to be remembered here; that in all the Ancient Rituals there is no power of offering Propitiatory Sacrifices given in the form of Ordination. It is true, in the MSS. which lies in the Monastery of St. German, there is a new Rite set down of delivering the Priestly Vestments, in which among other words these are added: And, *Do thou offer Propitiatory Sacrifices for the Sins and offences of the People, to Almighty God.* Which words are now omitted in that part of the Roman Pontifical, and made a part of the final Blessing given at the

the end of the Office; but this at most is but 800 years old; and therefore cannot be essential to Orders, since there were true Priests in the Christian Church 800 years before this was used. And to this day in the Greek Church there is no power given by the Consecration to offer propitiatory Sacrifices; for though in the Second Prayer said in Ordinations in which God's Holy Spirit is prayed for upon the Priest, *That he may be worthy to stand before the Altar of God without blame, and may preach the Gospel of his Kingdom, and holily administer the Word of his Truth:* It is added, *And may offer to thee Gifts and Spiritual Sacrifices;* but there is no reason to gather from these words that they give power for offering Propitiatory Sacrifices. We acknowledge that we offer Gifts and Sacrifices in the Holy Eucharist; but we reject propitiatory ones; and these words do not at all import them. And the truth of it is, when the Writers of the *Roman* Church are pressed with the Arguments before mention'd, that the Eucharist can be no Propitiatory Sacrifice: Since, 1. there no Blood shed in it: 2. No Destruction is made of the Sacrifice; for it is only the Accidents, and not the Blessed Body of Christ that the Priest consumes: 3. That Christ's Cross is called *one Sacrifice once offered*: 4. That his being now exalted at the Fathers right Hand, shews his Body can no more be subject to be Sacrificed or mangled; When these with many Authorities from the Fathers are brought, they are forced to fly to some Distinctions by which their Doctrine comes to differ little from ours; but still those high and indecent Expressions remain in their Rituals and Missals, which they are forced to mollify, as they do those Prayers in which the same things, and in the same manner and words, are asked of the Blessed Virgin and the other Saints, which we ask of God. And though they would stretch them to a bare Intercession, which the genuine sense of the words will not bear, yet they will never change them; for it is the standing Maxim of that Church, Never to confess an error, nor make any change to the better.

The Third Reason against our Orders of Priesthood, is a Repetition of the first, and is already answered.

The Fourth Argument is, That none can Institute the Form of a Sacrament, to give Grace and make present Christ's Body and Blood, but the Authors of Grace, and those that had power over his Body and Blood; but they that Instituted this Form,

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had only their Authority from the Parliament ; as appears by the Act it self, by which some Prelates and other Learned men being impowered, did Invent the Form before mentioned, never before heard of, either in Scripture or the Church of God.

To this I Answer.

First, It is certain the Writer of this Paper did never think it would have been seen by any body that could examine it, but intended only to impose on some Illiterate persons ; otherwise he would never have said that a Form which Christ himself used when he ordained his Apostles, and which is used in their own Church as the proper Form of Ordination, was never before heard of in the Scripture or the Church of God.

Secondly, Those who compiled the *Liturgy* and *Ordinal*, had no other Authority from the Parliament than Holy and Christian Princes did before give in the like cases. It is a common place, and has been handled by many Writers ; How far the Civil Magistrate may make Laws and give Commands about Sacred things ? 'Tis known what Orders *David* and *Solomon*, *Jehosaphat*, *Hezekiah* and *Josiah*, gave in such cases, They divided the Priests into several Courses, gave Rules for their attendance, turned out a High Priest and put another in his stead ; sent the Priests over the Cities to teach the People ; gathered the Priests and commanded them to sanctifie themselves, and the House of the Lord, and offer Sacrifices on the Altar. And gave orders about the Forms of their Worship ; that they should praise God in the words of *David* and *Asaph* : And gave orders about the time, of observing the Passover, That in a case of Necessity it might be observed on the Second Month ; though by their Law it was to be kept the first Month. And for the Christian Emperors, let the Code, or the Novels, or the Capitulars of *Charles the Great* be read, and in them many Laws will be found about the Qualifications, Elections, and Consecrations of Church-men made by the best of all the Roman Emperors, such as *Constantine*, *Theodosius*, &c. They called Councils to judg of the greatest points of Faith, which met and sate on their Writ, whose determinations they confirmed, and added the Civil Sanction to them. And even Pope *Leo*, though a higher spirited Pope than any of his predecessors were, did intreat the Emperor *Martian* to annul the Second Council of *Ephesus*, and to give order that the Ancient Decrees

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of

1 Chron. 23.6.

1 Chron. 24.19.

1 Kings 2.27.

2 Chron. 17.7.

8, 9.

2 Chron. 29.4, 5.

15, & 27.

Vers. 30.

2 Chron. 30.2.

Ep. 43.

of the Council of *Nice* should remain in Force. Now it were a great Scandal on those Councils to say, That they had no Authority for what they did, but what they derived from the Civil powers; so it is no less unjust to say, because the Parliament Impowered some persons to draw Forms for the more pure Administration of the Sacraments; and Enacted that these only should be lawfully exercised in this Realm, which is the Civil Sanction; that therefore these persons had no other Authority for what they did: Let those men declare upon their Consciences if there be any thing they desire more earnestly than such an Act for Authorizing their own Forms; and would they make any Scruple to accept of it, if they might have it? Was it ever heard of, that the Civil Sanction which only makes any constitution to have the force of a Law, gives it another Authority than a Civil one? And such Authority the Church of *Rome* thinks fit to accept of in all States and Kingdoms of that Religion.

Thirdly, The Prelates and other Divines that compiled our Forms of Ordination, did it by Virtue of the Authority they had from Christ, as Pastors of his Church, which did empower them to teach the people the pure Word of God, and to administer the Sacraments, and perform all other holy Functions according to the Scripture; the practice of the primitive Church, and the Rules of Expediency and Reason; and this they ought to have done, though the Civil powers had opposed it; in which case their duty had been to have submitted to whatever severities or persecutions they might have been put to for the Name of Christ, and the Truth of his Gospel. But on the other hand, when it pleased God to turn the hearts of those that had the chief Power, to set forward this good Work, then they did (as they ought) with all Thankfulness, acknowledg so great a Blessing, and accept and improve the Authority of the Civil powers for adding the Sanction of a Law to the Reformation, in all the parts and branches of it. So by the Authority they derived from Christ, and the Warrant they had from Scripture and the Primitive Church, these Prelates and Divines, made those Alterations and Changes in the Ordinal; and the King and the Parliament, who are vested with the Supreme Legislative Power, added their Authority to them to make them Obligatory on the Subjects. Which is all that is im-

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ported by the word *Lawful* in the Act of Parliament; the ordinary use whereof among Lawyers, is, *A thing according to Law.*

The Fourth Argument against the Validity of our Priestly Orders, is, That we have them from those that are not Bishops; which carries him to the next Conclusion, that our Bishops are not Bishops.

But before I follow him to that, I must desire you would consider with how much dissingenuity this Paper is framed, that would impose on the easy Reader the belief of our first Reformers not being true Bishops, when the Writer cannot but know that *Arch-bishop Cranmer* was a Bishop as truly Consecrated and invested, as any of the *Roman Church* were, and was confirmed by the Pope, who sent him the *Pall*; and to satisfy you that they knew him to be such, they degraded him with the usual Ceremonies before his Martyrdom. So that he being the Fountain of our Clergy that succeeded him, and being truly Consecrated himself; all those he Ordained, are by the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, Bishops or Priests, since Orders according to their Doctrine leave an *Indelible Character*, which can never be taken away. So that by their Principles no following sentence could deprive him of the power of Ordaining. It is true, there were many disorderly practices of some Popes in the latter Ages, in annulling Orders and re-ordaining those ordained by others; for Pope *Urban* the Second appointed those who were ordained Simoniacally, to be re-ordained. And *Stephen* the Fourth in a Synod, Decreed that all the Ordinations his predecessor Pope *Constantine* had made, were null and void, because he from a Layman was chosen a Pope; and though he passed through the Intermedial degrees of Priest and Deacon, yet he stopt not so long in them, as was appointed by the Canons; and upon the same account it was also judged, that *Photius* (the Learned Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who in six days went through all the Ecclesiastical Degrees, from a Layman to a Patriarch) had no power of Ordaining lawfully, and all the Orders he gave, were annulled by Pope *Nicholaus*. And to mention no more, the Orders given by Pope *Formosus*, were annulled by his Successor Pope *Stephen* the Sixth, upon the pretence of some Crimes and Irregularities with which he was charged; these practices

practices as they gave great Scandal, so they gave occasion to much disputing about the Legality and Canonicalness of these proceedings; for the Canonists and Schoolmen being generally very ignorant, and prepossessed with an opinion of the Popes Infallibility, studied to flatter the Court of Rome, all that was possible. Yet on the other hand there was so much to be said against these proceedings, that as appears by *Petrus Damiani*, *Aucelius*, and other Writers of that time, there was great perplexity, and many different Opinions about them. But the ignorance and passion of those Ages appears evidently in this particular, for there is nothing more manifest than that the Ancient Church was of another opinion; and as in the debate between Pope *Stephen* and St. *Cyprian* about the re-baptizing of Hereticks, the constant opinion and practice of the following Ages, was against re-baptizing such as were baptized by those Heretiques who retained the essentials of Baptism: So by the same parity of reason, and upon the same Arguments they held the Ordinations of Hereticks valid, that retained the essentials of Ordination.

In the case of Heretiques we have these Instances, *Felix* was Consecrated Bishop of Rome by the *Arians* in the room of *Libertius*, whose banishment they had procured, and yet he was acknowledged a righteous Pope, and his Ordinations were accounted valid. In the General Council of *Ephesus* the Priests of the *Messalian* Heresie were appointed to be received into the Church, and continue Priests upon renouncing their Heresie. The same was also granted to *Nestorians*, *Pelagians*, *Eutyobians*, *Monothelites*, and divers other Heretiques, as *Morinus* proves at length. And at this day though the Greek Church is condemned by the Roman, as Heretical in the point of the Procession of the Holy Ghost, yet they are received according to their Orders into their Communion when they renounce their Heresie. And their great *Vasques* says, that all the Schoolmen and Summists agree, that an Heretical Excommunicate or suspended Bishop has still the power of giving Orders, for which he cites many Schoolmen; and he likewise proves, that a Bishop after degradation retains the same power: And the case of Schismatics is no less clear, for to wave the Decision of the Council of *Nice* (which seems somewhat dubious) in the case of the *Novatian* Ordinations we find frequently in *Saint Austinus* Tre-

Ath. Ep. ad Sol.
Bar. ad An.
355. n. 56, 57.
Bar. ad An.
357. n. 63, 64.

cap. 10, 11.
Exerc. 5.

Disp. 141. cap.
1.

N. 8.

Collat. 2. cum
Donat. & Ep.
30.

tises and Conferences with the *Donatists*, that they offered to them, if they would return to the Unity of the Church, to receive them according to their Orders. So that they did not think Schism did take away the power of giving Orders. And in the case of that long and scandalous Schism of the Papacy for fifty years together, when the one sat at *Rome*, and the other at *Avignon*, though beside their Schism, Depositions, Excommunications and Censures of all sorts passed on both sides by each of those Popes against the other, and it must be confessed that one of them was the Schismatick, and by consequence the Censures fell justly on him; Yet both their Ordinations were held valid, and when the matter was settled at the Council of *Constance*, the Ordinations on no side were annulled or renewed. And though *Petrus de Lunay*, who was called *Benedict* the Thirteenth, refused to submit to them, and lay down his pretensions as the others did; yet when * they gave sentence against him, there is not a word in it of annulling Orders given by him. From all which it follows, that neither the pretence of *Herésie*, *Schism*, nor *Censures*, will according to the practice either of the Primitive Church, or of the Church of *Rome* even in these latter Ages, be of any force to invalidate our Orders.

* Sect. 37.

Cap. 8. Exer. 5.
num. 7.

Which was well seen by *Morinus*; and though he does not write upon this head with so much ingenuity, as he does on other points; yet he lays this down as a Maxim, "That all the Ordinations of Heretiques and Schismaticques made according to the forms, of the Church, and where the Heretiques that gave them were also rightly Ordained according to the forms of the Church, are valid as to their Substance, and are not to be repeated though they be unlawful; and both he that gave, and he that received them, sinned grievously; nor is it in any case lawful for a Catholick to receive Orders from Hereticks or Schismaticks; Therefore in those Ordinations, if all other things be done according to the form of the Church, and only the Crime of Herésie be charged on the Orders given, the substance of it is not thereby vitiated, but there is a perfect and entire Character begotten, only the use of it is forbidden; yet he that neglects that Interdict, though he becomes very guilty, begets a new Character on the person Ordained by him: Therefore Hereticks

or

“ or Schismatiques so Ordained, need no new Ordination, but
 “ only a Reconciliation ; and what is said of Heretiques and
 “ Schismatiques, does hold much more of those who are Or-
 “ dained by persons that are Excommunicated, deposed, or de-
 “ graded. And for those things that are essential to Ordinati-
 on, enough has been said already to demonstrate what they be ;
 to which I shall only add what that Author, the most learned of
 all that ever treated of this Subject, says in the beginning of
 the next Chapter. *In the Rite of Holy Ordination, there are some*
things of Divine Institution and Tradition, which do always and in all
places belong to Holy Orders ; such as Imposition of hands, and a con-
venient Prayer which the Scripture has delivered, and the universal
practice of the Church has confirmed. Now these our Church has
 retained ; and therefore from all that has been said, I may with
 good reason conclude, that all the Ordinations that were derived
 from Archbishop Cranmer, having (as has been already shewed)
 the Essentials of Ordination ; and being done with the due
 numbers of Ordainers (as can be proved Authentically from the
 publick Registers) must be good and valid. And though we
 have separated from many errors and corruptions of the Church
 of Rome, and in particular have thrown out many Superstitious
 Rites out of the Forms of Ordination, that we might reduce
 these to a primitive simplicity ; yet as we acknowledg the
 Church of Rome holds still the Fundamentals of the Christian
 Religion ; so we confess she retains the Essentials of Ordination,
 which are the separating of persons for Sacred Employments,
 and the authorizing them with an Imposition of hands, and a
 Prayer for the effusion of the Holy Ghost ; therefore we do
 not annul their Orders, but receive such as come from that
 Church, and look on them as true Priests by the Ordination
 they got among them, and such were our first Reformers, from
 whom we have derived our Ordination.

Having followed this Paper through the first Conclusion, and
 the Arguments brought to confirm it ; I come now to the se-
 cond ; which is, That our Bishops are not true Bishops. For
 which his first Argument is,

That our Bishops being no Priests, they can be no Bishops.
 This he thinks he has already proved, therefore he sets himself
 to prove that none can be a Bishop till he be first a Priest : About
 this I shall not dispute much ; for we acknowledg that Regu-
 larly

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laity and Canonically it must be so, and assert that ours were truly such; therefore we need not contend further about this; though he must be very ignorant of Antiquity if he does not know that there are divers instances in Church-History of Laymen, nay, and Catechumens chosen Bishops; and we do not find those Intermedial steps were made of Ordaining them first Deacons, and then Priests, but by what appears to us, they at once made them Bishops. But I shall wave this, only I must put this Author in mind of a great Oversight he is guilty of, when he goes about to prove our Bishops not to be true Bishops, because they were not true Priests: Does he not know that Bishop Ridley, and the other Bishops of King Edward's days, were Ordained Priests by the Rites of the Church of Rome? And this was acknowledged by themselves, when they degraded them at Oxford, before they suffered; if those then were Priests, this is no Argument why they might not be Bishops: For in this matter, that which we ought to enquire into most carefully, is what they were; for if they were both Priests and Bishops, and if the Forms by which they Ordained others, retained all the Essential Requisites, then we who are derived from them, are also true Priests and Bishops.

His second Argument is, No Ordination is valid, unless there be fit words used to determine the outward Rites, to signify the Order given, which he says our own Writers (Mr. Mason, and Dr. Bramhall) do acknowledg. But the words of Consecration do not express this, they being only, *Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the Grace, &c.* which do not express the Office of a Bishop; and having proposed these Arguments, that the unlearned Reader may think he deals fairly, he goes on to set down our Objections, and answer them.

First. It has been already made out that the Form, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, was that which our Saviour made use of when he Ordained the Apostles, without adding, *To the Office of an Apostle*. For which it is to be considered, that all Ecclesiastical Orders being from the influence and operation of the Holy Ghost, which
 1 Cor. 12. 5, 6. being one, yet hath different Operations for the different Administrations; therefore the concomitant Actions, Words and Circumstances must shew for which Administration the Holy Ghost is prayed for; since that general Prayer is made for all; but the Functions being different, the same Holy Ghost

Ghost works differently in them all. Therefore it is plain from the practice of our Saviour, that there is no need of expressing in the very words of Ordination, what power is thereby given, since our Saviour did not express it, but what he had said both before and after, did determine the sense of those general words to the Apostolical Function.

Secondly, The whole Office of Consecrating Bishops, shews very formally and expressly what power is given in these words. Now tho the Writers of the Church of *Rome*, would place the Form of Consecration in some Imperative words; yet we see no reason for that, but the complex of the whole Office is that which is to be chiefly considered, and must determine the sense of those words; So that a Priest being presented to be made a Bishop, the King's Mandate being read for that effect, he swearing Canonical obedience as Bishop Elect, Prayers being put up for him as such, together with other circumstances which make it plain what they are about; those general words are by these qualified and restrained to that sense.

We do not fly here to a secret and unknown Intention of the Consecrators, as the Church of *Rome* does, but to the open and declared intention of the Church appearing in this: So that it is clear that the sense of those general words is so well explained, that they do sufficiently express and give the power and office of a Bishop.

Thirdly, In the Church of *Rome* the Consecration of a Bishop is made with these words, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, This being all that is said at the Imposition of hands, which as has been already proved, is the matter or sensible sign of Orders. And in the Prayer that follows these words, there is no mention made of the Episcopal Dignity or Function, and all the other Ceremonies used in the Consecration of a Bishop, are but Rites that are added for the more Solemnity, but are not of the essence of Ordination according to what is now most generally received, even in their own Church. And *Vasques* does set down this very Objection against the form of their Episcopal Ordination, as not sufficient, because it does not specify the Episcopal power; to which he answers, that though the words express it not, yet the other circumstances that accompany them do it sufficiently; by which it appears that this Argument is as strong against their Ordination as ours; and that they must make use of the same Answers that we give to it.

*Disp. 240. c. 3.
n. 60.*

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Fourthly, The ancient Forms of Consecrating Bishops, differing so much one from another, and indeed agreeing in nothing but in an Imposition of hands, with a convenient Prayer; it has been already made out that there is no particular Form so necessary, that the want of it annuls Orders, and that the Church has often changed the words of these Prayers upon several occasions; and it was ever thought that if the words do sufficiently express the mind of the Church, there was no more scruple to be made of the validity of the Orders so given; for if the Episcopal Character were begotten by any of those Rites which the Church of Rome has added of late, such as the Chrism, the giving the Gospels, the Ring, the Staff, or any other set down in the *Pontifical*, then there were no true Bishops in the Church for many Ages. In the most Ancient *Latin* Ritual now to be found, there is nothing in the Consecration of a Bishop, but the Prayer which is now marked for the Anthem after the Consecration in the *Pontifical*. In a Ritual believed to be 800 year old, the anointing is first to be found, but there is no other Rite with it. In another Ritual somewhat later than the former, the giving the Ring and the Staff, were used, which at first were the Civil Ceremonies of Investiture; and in the *Greek* Church, none of those Rites were ever used, they having only an Imposition of hands, and saying with it, *The Divine Grace that heals the things that are weak, and perfects the things that are imperfect; promotes this very Reverend Priest to be a Bishop: Let us therefore pray that the Grace of the Holy Ghost may come upon him*; then all that are assisting, say Thrice, *Kyrie Eleison*. Then the Consecrator lays the Gospels on the head and neck of him that is Consecrated, having before Signed his head Thrice with the sign of the Cross; and all the other Bishops touch the Gospels, and there is a Prayer said. And thus it is clear, that if those Rites in the *Pontifical* be essential to Episcopal Orders, neither the Primitive Church nor the *Greek* Churches gave them truly, which are things they cannot admit: Therefore it is most disingenuously done of them to insinuate on unlearned persons, that our Orders are not good, when in their Consciences they know that they have all those Requisites in them, which by the Principles of the most Learned men of their own Church, are essentially and absolutely necessary to make them good and valid.

*Deus Honorum
omnium 7.*

But

But I go next to see what Ingenuity there is in the Objections which he sets down in our Name against the former Arguments. There is nothing in which any man that writes of Controversie, shews his candor and fair dealing, more than in propoling the Arguments of the adverse party with their full and just weight in them; and it is a piece of Justice and moral Honesty, to which men are obliged: For to pretend that one brings what may be objected against his Opinion, and then not to set down any strong and material Arguments, but on the contrary, to bring some trifling and ridiculous things that no Learned persons did ever make use of, is to Lye: And really I cannot think the Writer of this Paper has common honesty in him, that will pretend to set down our Objections, and yet passes them over every one. Our Arguments are drawn, 1. From Christs own practices. 2. From the practice of the Apostles and the Primitive Church. 3. From the practice of the *Greek Church* at this day. 4. From the Doctrine and the practice of the Church of *Rome*. These are the Arguments on which our Cause does rest, and upon these Authorities we are ready to put the thing to an Issue. But he was wiser than to mention any of those, for he knew he could not get off them so well; and therefore that he might deceive those that are ready to take any thing off his hands upon trust, he brings Objections which he knows none of us will make.

To the first I need say nothing, having, I presume, said enough already, to shew that both our Priestly and Episcopall Orders are good and valid.

But his second is such a piece of foul dealing, that really he deserves to be very sharply reprov'd for it. In it he makes us object, That tho the form of our Ordination since King *Edward* the 6th. his days, till his Majesties happy Restauration, was invalid; yet that is salv'd by the Parliament that now sits, that appointed the words of Ordination to be, *Receive the Holy Ghost, for the Office of a Priest, or, for the office of a Bishop*. And having set up this Man of Straw, he runs unmercifully at him, he stabs him in at the heart, he shoots him through the head, and then to make sure work of him, he cuts him all to pieces that he shall never live nor speak again; and all this out of pure Chivalry to shew his valour. He tells us the Salve is worse than the Sore; that by the change, the Form used before is confessed to be in-

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valid, else why did they change it? He tells us, Secondly, By this we acknowledg all our Bishops and Priests till that time to be null. Thirdly, That they not being true Bishops, cannot Ordain validly, for no man can give what he has not. And fourthly, The power that Act gives, is only from the Parliament, and not from Christ; and this destroys our Orders, Root and Branch. So there is an end of us, we are all killed upon the spot, never to live more. Yet there is no harm done, nor blood spilt, all is safe and sound. But to satisfy any person whom such a scruple may trouble; Let it be considered,

First, That we pretend not that there is any greater validity in our Orders since the last Act of Uniformity, than was before; for those words that are added, are not Essential to the Ordination, but only further and clearer Explanations of what was clear enough by the other parts of these Offices, before: Therefore there is no change made of any thing that was Essential to our Ordinations, an Explanation is not a change; for did the Fathers of the Councils of *Nice* and *Constantinople* change or annul the Faith and Creeds that the Church used before, when they added Explanations to the Creed. Therefore the adding of some explanatory words for cutting off the occasions of Cavilling, is neither a change, nor an annulling our former Orders.

Secondly, The change of the Form of Consecration does not infer an annulling of Orders given another way; for then all the Ordinations used in the Primitive Church, are annulled by the *Roman* Church at this day, since the forms of Ordination used by them now, were not used in the former Ages; and the Forms used in the former Ages are not looked on by them now to be the Forms of Consecration, but are only made parts of the Office, and used as Collects or Anthems; and yet here is a real change, which by their own Principles cannot infer a nullity of Orders given before the Change made.

Thirdly, If the addition of a few explanatory words invalidates former Orders, then the adding many new Rites, which were neither used by Christ nor his Apostles, nor the Primitive nor Eastern Churches, will much more invalidate former Orders, especially when these are believed to be so Essential as that they confer the power of Consecrating Christ's Body and Blood, and

and of offering Sacrifices, and were for divers Ages universally looked on in that Church to be the Matter and Form of Orders, as was already observed of the Rite of giving the Sacred Vessels with the words joyned to it, which Pope *Eugenius* in express words, calls the Matter of Priestly Orders, and the words joyned to them the Form (in his Decree for the *Armenians* in the Council of *Florence*) and even the Form he mentions is also altered now, for the celebrating Masses are not in the Form he mentions, but are now added to that part of the Office in the *Roman Church*. Let the Pontifical be considered, in the Ordination of Priests; we find the *Priestly Vestments* given, both the *Stole* and the *Casula*, then *their hands* are anointed, then the *Vessels of the Sacrament* are delivered to them, with words pronounced in every of those Rites, besides many other lesser Rites that are in the *Rubrick*. In the Consecration of a Bishop, his head is Anointed, then his hands, then his Pastoral Staff is blessed and put in his hands; next the Ring is blessed, and put on his finger, then the Gospels are put in his hands, then the Mitre is blessed, and put on his head; next the Gloves are blessed, and put on his hands, and then they set him on his Throne: Besides many lesser Rites to be seen in the *Rubrick*. Now with what face can they pretend that our adding a few explanatory words, can infer the annulling all Orders given before that addition, when they have added so many material Ceremonies in which they place great significancy and vertue? Is not this to swallow a Camel, and to strain at a Gnat? and to object to us a Mote in our eye, when there is a Beam in their own eye?

Fourthly, This Addition was indeed confirmed by the Authority of Parliament, and there was good reason to desire that, to give it the force of a Law; but the authority of these changes is wholly to be derived from the Convocation, who only consulted about them, and made them, and the Parliament did take that care in the Enacting them, that might shew they did only add the force of a Law to them; for in passing them, it was Ordered that the Book of Common-Prayer and Ordination should only be read over (and even that was carried upon some debate; for many as I have been told, moved that the Book should be added to the Act, as it was sent to the Parliament from the Convocation, without ever reading it; but that seemed indecent, and too implicate to others) and there.

A Vindication of the Ordinations

there was no change made in a Tittle by the Parliament. So that they only Enacted by a Law what the Convocation had done.

As for what he adds, that the Book of Ordination is not to be found in every Edition of the Common-Prayer-Book, with his gloss upon it, that *most think the Bishops for shame suppress it*. Really the Writer of this Paper must pardon me, to say, it seems he has no shame, that can set down in writing such a disingenuous Allegation: Pray who are these *most that think so*? [*Most*] in our Language stands for the [*greater part*]; now how many can he find that agree with him in this Gloss? I doubt, very few; for I am sure, not all his own Party, and not one of ours. So that upon a Calculation, those *Most think*, will be found to be no more but himself and a very few ignorant persons on whom he has imposed this conceit. Every body knows that when a Book is once printed by publick Authority, and universally sold in the Shops, those in Authority cannot out of shame study to suppress it. But the use of the Book of Ordination not being so universal as are the other Offices of the Church; the Stationers and Printers, who do chiefly consider their Interest in the ready Sale and vent of Books, do not Print so many of them as of the other, there being at least five hundred that use the Common-Prayer, for one that needs the other; and a Common-Prayer-Book without it, will sell cheaper than with it; therefore a great many Copies have it not. This is not as *Most think*, but as *every body knows*, the true reason why in many Copies of the Common-Prayer-Book, the Ordinal is wanting. Let him name one Bishop that would not permit it to be dispersed abroad, or let him be looked on as a bold and impudent Slanderer.

Thus far I have followed this Paper in the two first Conclusions; and now I come to the Third; which is,

That Protestant Ministers and Bishops have no power to Preach, &c. from Christ, but only from the Parliament.

And this he proves, because they have no more power than the first Protestant Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, *Matthew Parker* had, from whom all Jurisdiction was derived to the rest; Now he had no power from Christ; for first, They that Consecrated him, had no such Jurisdiction, being no actual Bishops, two of them were only *Elect*, and not *actual Bishops*,

Bishops; and a Third only a *quondam Bishop*, but had no actual Jurisdiction; and a Fourth was a *Suffragan Bishop* to *Canterbury*, who had no Jurisdiction but what he had from the *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, much less Authority to give him Jurisdiction over himself and all the other Bishops of the Land, because none can give what he has not.

This I must confess is such a piece, that no man can read it, but he must conclude the Writer of it has no sort of Ecclesiastical Learning, or else has very little Moral honesty. I need not tell him that *Matthew Parker* was not the first Protestant *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*; he knows *Arch-Bishop Cranmer* was both a Protestant and *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*; but this may be easily passed over, there being more material Errors in this period. And

First, Does he believe himself when he says that none can install a Bishop in a Jurisdiction above himself? Pray then who invests the Popes with their Jurisdiction? Do not the Cardinals do it? And are not they as much the Popes Suffragans as *Hodgkins* was *Canterburies*. So that if inferiors cannot invest one with a superior Jurisdiction, then the Popes can have none legally, since they have theirs from the Cardinals that are inferior in Jurisdiction. This also holds in all the Patriarchal Consecration. For Instance, when *John* commonly called *Chrysostome*, a Priest of *Antioch*, was chosen Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and Consecrated by the Bishops of that Province according to the Canons; if there be any force in this Argument, it will annul his Orders as well as *Arch-Bishop Parker's*, or the Writer must needs see the case is Parallel.

Secondly, Or if he insists upon their being Elect to others Sees, and that one of them had no See at all. Let me ask him, If when *St. Athanasie* was banished out of *Alexandria*, and others thrust in his place; or when *Liberius* was banished out of *Rome*, and *Felix* (whom they acknowledg a Righteous Bishop) put in his place, they had ordained Priests and Bishops, had these Orders been null, because they were violently thrust out of their Sees? Certainly Persecution and Violence rather makes the glory of Ecclesiastical Functions shine more brightly, but cannot be imagined to strip them of their Character, and to disable them for exercising the Offices of their Function.

Thirdly,

Thridly, There are Two things to be considered in the Consecration of a Primate, the one is the giving him the Order of a Bishop, the other is the investing him with the Jurisdiction of a Metropolitan; for the former, all Bishops are equal in Order, none has more or less than another: Therefore any Bishop duly Consecrated, how mean soever his Diocese be, is no less a Bishop than the greatest; the Bishop of *Man* is a Bishop as well as the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; so that the Consecrators of *Matthew Parker* being Bishops by their Order, they had sufficient power and authority to Consecrate him: By which it appears there can be no question made of his being truly a Bishop. And as for his Jurisdiction, Two things are also to be considered; the one is, The Jurisdiction annexed to that See. The other is, his being rightly clothed and invested with it. For the former, it cannot be denied but the Jurisdiction of Metropolitans, Primates, and Patriarchs, has no divine Institution; for all that any Bishop has by divine Institution, is to feed the flock of his own Diocese, but the Canons and practice of the Church and the Civil Laws, have introduced a further Jurisdiction over the Bishops of a District or Province; this did rise by Custom upon the division of the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, and was settled over the World before any General Council did meet to make Decrees about it: And therefore the Councils of *Nice*, *Constantinople*, *Ephesus* and *Chalcedon*, only approved what they found practised, and confirmed some new Divisions of Provinces, that were made by the Emperors; and so the Kings in the Western Church did first give those Preheminences to some Towns and Sees; for the original Dignity of Sees, rose out of the Dignity of the Towns, which appears clearly in all the Patriarchates, chiefly in that of *Rome* and *Constantinople*. This is a thing so fully inquired into by many, but chiefly by the most Learned *Petrus de Marca* Arch-Bishop of *Paris*, that I need say no more of it. And the Dignity of the See of *Canterbury* was from King *Estbert*, who first erected that See. It is true, the Popes did afterwards usurp a new Jurisdiction over all Churches; they took upon them to Judge of the Dignity of all Sees, to send the *Pall*, to have reserved Cases, to grant Exemptions to the Regulars, with many other Encroachments on the Episcopal Jurisdiction, which has been very fully inquired into, not only by Protestant Writers, but by many of the *Roman*

De Concor.
Imp. & Sacer.

man Communion, chiefly those of the *Gallicane* Church, and many of the Bishops at the Council of *Trent*, studied to recover their Liberties that were troden under foot by the Court of *Rome*, but the Intrigues and cunning of that Court were too hard for them.

The other thing in Episcopal Institution, is the installing or inthroning the Metropolitan; that this was always done by the Bishops of the Province, is a thing so clear in Antiquity, that I am sure no Man ever questioned it. Was not the famous Decision of the Council of *Ephesus* in the case of the *Cypriotic* Bishops a full proof of this, when upon the pretension of the Patriarch of *Antioch*, the thing was examined, and it was found that he had never used to ordain Bishops there; and therefore the Rites to the Bishop of *Constantia* the Metropolitan were confirmed to him by that General Council: nor can one Instance be shewed in the first three Ages of a Metropolitan coming to be ordained by a Patriarch, as was afterwards for Orders-sake appointed. And this appears more evidently by a Canon of the Council of *Orleans*, where it was decreed, *That in the Ordination of Metropolitans the Ancient Custom should be renewed, which was generally neglected and lost, that a Metropolitan being elected by the Bishops of the Province with the Clergy, and the People, should be ordained by all the Bishops of the Province met together*; This was *Anno* 538. By which we see they thought not of any Bull or Confirmation from *Rome*, but that Bishops, though subject to the Metropolitan's Jurisdiction, might ordain him.

Action 7.

Can. 7.

It is true, afterwards the Patriarchs chose the Metropolitans, but the Patriarchs were either chosen, or at least confirmed by the Emperor; and tho they sent Circulatory Letters to the Pope and the other Patriarchs to confirm their Elections (which the Bishops of *Rome* did likewise to them) this was only for keeping up the Unity of the Church, and for a more friendly and brotherly Correspondence, but was not of necessity, or as an homage which they owed the Pope; much less did they delay their Consecration till they obtained his Mandate, or abstain from any Act of Jurisdiction till they had his Confirmation, as is now appointed by the Pontifical, till they get the *Pall*. I have not given you the trouble of enlarging on many Proofs for making these things out, for they are

De Pallio.

are so clear and uncontested, that I am confident no Man is so disingenuous as to deny them under his hand, whatever some may whisper among illiterate Persons who cannot contradict them. And though there has been so much already written to make those particulars out, that more needs not, and indeed cannot be said ; yet if these things be questioned by any body, I shall make them out fully.

And now I come to his second Argument : which is, That *Matthew Parker* (and all the other Protestant Bishops since his days) had his power of Jurisdiction only from the Queen, as appears by the Queens Letters Patents, and the form of his Ordination, which was done upon the Queen's Mandate without any *Bull* from the Pope (in which she acknowledges Cardinal *Pool* to have been a righteous Arch-bishop ; and so confesses Catholick Ordination and Jurisdiction to be lawful, valid, and good) which was necessary by the Laws of *England* ; as appears from her Mandate in which she supplies any Defects they might have been under. Now all the Authority the Queen had, flowed from the Parliament, which annexed all Jurisdiction Spiritual or Temporal over the Ecclesiastical State of this Realm to the Crown, by which they made her Pope : So that by the very words of the Act, *Matthew Parker* had his Jurisdiction from the Queen, and she hers from the Parliament : Therefore the Protestant Priests and Bishops are only *Parliamentary Priests and Bishops*, and are not from Christ and his Church, but from their Kings, Queen, and Parliaments.

Here is such a heap of things so unjustly and weakly said, that it must needs grieve all honest Men to see a company of Priests going up and down the Kingdom studying to abuse weak and unlearned Persons with such disingenuous Stories or Writings. Which I hope will appear more fully if you consider the following Particulars.

First ; It is certain that King and Parliament have the Supreme Legislative Authority in this Realm ; and this they have from the Laws of God, Nature, and Society, confirmed by the Gospel, which commands us to be *subject to the Higher Powers*. Therefore whatever they enact that is within the Limits of their Jurisdiction, is Law ; and if it be not sinful, is to be obeyed ; if it be sinful, it is to be submitted to. For instance, if they set up a false Religion by Law, it does not make it a

true Religion, but adds the Sanction of Law, and is the Civil Warrant and Security for the Subject: therefore the Civil Power cannot change the nature of things, to make Good Evil, or Evil Good; but only gives Authority and Security; and in this they are restrained in things Civil as well as Spiritual, for if they make unjust Laws in Civil things, the case is the same with their unjust Laws about Spirituals. Therefore it is to be concluded as the Fundamental Maxim of Civil Government, that whatever may be done lawfully and without Sin, ought to be done when the Supream Civil Authority commands it, and that the Subjects ought to obey.

Secondly; Whosoever is empower'd by the King and Parliament to execute this their Supream Authority, has a full Right and Title to apply that Power so given or committed to him, having the execution of that Law put in his hands; and if any shall without their Warrant, or Authority from them, usurp or assume any sort of Power or Jurisdiction within this Kingdom, they are Intruders and Usurpers, and the success they have in it does no more justify that Force, than a Robber's does his Title to Goods unjustly taken. And altho some weak Princes in hard times did yield it up to the Pope; yet both the Clergy themselves and the Parliaments, did often assert their own Authority, which was most eminently done by King *Edward* the First, and King *Edward* the Third: So that the Popes Power here had no just Title, but was a violent Invasion; for that they neither had it from Christ nor Saint *Peter*, nor by any Decree of General Councils; and that for 800 Years after Christ it was never allowed them: that they never had it in the Eastern Churches, and that what they had in the Western Churches, was only extorted by force and fraud from the Princes and States of *Europe*, and that they had no Law for it in *England*, are things so uncertain, that for proof of this, I shall refer my self to the Writers of their own Church, *De Marca*, *Launoy*, and *Balufius*, with many others. And at this very day the Pope has neither more nor less Power in the other Kingdoms of *Europe*, than the Connivance of Princes or the Laws give him: Therefore the Pope had no Power in *England* but what was unjustly usurped from the King and Parliament.

Thirdly ; When the Supream Authority the King and Parliament have long endured an Enchroachment upon them, that gives no just Title to it, nor hinders them from asserting their own Rights when they find a fit opportunity for it, and neither devests them of their Authority, nor the Subjects of their due Rights and Freedoms : Therefore the Government of the Kingdom, and all the exercise of coercive Jurisdiction being inseparably annexed to the Supream Authority, it was incumbent on them to shake off all Foreign Jurisdiction : they should have done it sooner, but could never do it too late.

Fourthly ; The King and Parliament asserting their Authority in this particular, and condemning the Pope's Usurpations, they might commit the execution of it to whom they would : Therefore they putting it into the Queen's hands and her Successors, she had a good Right to exercise it, having a Law for it. This then being annexed to the Imperial Crown of the Realm by the Supream Authority of King and Parliament, the King hath the Power of exercising it fully and only in his hands, and is to be obeyed in all his Injunctions (that are not sinful) by the Laws of the Supream Authority in this Kingdom which comes from God, and is confirmed by the Gospel.

Fifthly ; Tho the power of the Ministers of the Gospel comes only from Christ, yet the exercise of that Power, and this or that Person being put in this or that Living or Preferment, and having the right to the Tythes, and all the Jurisdiction of the Spiritual and Prerogative Courts, being things not appointed in the Gospel, the King having the Supremacy over the Ecclesiastical State, does not exceed his Limits when he reserves to himself such Power that no Person shall be invested with the Legal Authority for those things, but by his Knowledg, or upon his Order. It is true, he cannot make a Man a Bishop or a Priest, nor can he take away Orders ; for if Bishops should ordain or consecrate without or against his pleasure, he may proceed against both the Ordainers and Ordained, and can hinder their exercising any Function in his Dominions by banishing or imprisoning them, but he cannot destroy or annul their Orders. So that the Power of Ordination comes from Christ, and has a Spiritual Effect, whatever opposition the King may make,
 † but

but the exercise of that Power must be had from him. If the King commands an Heretick or a scandalous Person to be Elected or Ordained, Churchmen may well demur, and offer their Reasons why they cannot give Obedience, not for the want of Authority in the King, but because the Matter is morally Evil : As they must also do, if the King should command them, to commit Theft or Murther. So that all Consecrations in this Land are made by Bishops, by the Power that is inherent in them, only the King gives Orders for the execution of that their Power : Therefore all that the Queen did in the Case of *Mat. Parker*, and the Kings do since, was to command so many Bishops to exercise a Power they had from Christ in such or such Instances, which Command was Just and Good, if the Persons to be Ordained were so qualified as they ought to have been according to the Scriptures.

Sixthly ; Though the Command were unjust, yet that cannot be imagined a sufficient Ground to annul the Ordination ; for otherwise all the Ordinations appointed by the Anti-Popes of *Avignon* were null, since done upon Mandates from a false Pope who had not Power, which will annul all the Ordinations of the *Gallicane* Church which did submit to these Popes. And yet this cannot be admitted by the Church of *Rome*, unless they also annul all the Eastern Bishops ; for the Patriarch of *Constantinople* is made by Order from the Grand Signior, and is upon that installed. If this therefore invalidates our Ordinations, it will do theirs much more, except they will allow a greater Power to the *Turk* than to the King. So that this at most might prove the Church to be under an unjust Violence, but cannot infer an invalidating of Acts so done : therefore if *Matthew Parker* was duly consecrated, tho it was done upon the Queen's Mandate, he was a true and lawful Bishop. For let me suppose another Case parallel to this ; If the Clergy should resolve they will no more administer the Sacraments upon the pretence perhaps of *Interdicts*, *Censures*, or some such thing. And the Prince or State commands them to administer the Sacraments (as was done by the *Venerians* in the time of the Interdict, and by many Kings in the like cases) can it be pretended that the Sacraments they administer upon such Commands are not the Sacraments of Christ, but

but only of the King. So in like manner Orders, given upon the King's Mandate by Persons empowred to it by Christ and the Church, are true Orders, even tho the Mandate for them were unjust, tyrannical, and illegal.

Seventhly; Besides all that has been said, it is to be considered, that the power of chusing Bishops was in all Ages thought at most a mixed thing, in which Laymen as well as Churchmen had a share. It is well enough known, that for the first three Centuries, the Elections were made by the People, and the Bishops that came to assist in those Elections, did confirm their Choice, and consecrate the Person by them Elected. Now, whatever is a Right of the People, they can by Law transfer it on another. So in our Case, the People of this Realm having in Parliament annexed the Power of chusing Bishops to the Crown, by which their Right is now in the King's Person; Consecrations upon his Nomination must either be good and valid, or all the Consecrations of the first Ages of the Church shall likewise be annulled, since he has now as good a right to name the Persons that are to be Consecrated, as the People then had. It is true, the Tumults and other discandal Orders in those Elections, brought great scandal on the Church, and so they were taken away, and Synodical Elections were set up; but as the former Ordinations were good before these were set up, so it cannot be said that these are indispensibly necessary, otherwise there are no good Ordinations at this day in the Church of *Rome*; these being all now put down, the Pope having, among his other Usurpations, taken that into his own hands.

Eighthly; It is also known how much Christian Princes, Emperors and Kings, in all Ages and Places, have medled in the Election of Bishops: I need not tell how a Synod desired *Valentinian* to chuse a Bishop at *Millan*, when *St. Ambrose* was chosen, nor how *Theodosius* chose *Nectarius* to be Patriarch of *Constantinople*, even when the second General Council was sitting. Nor need I tell the Law *Justinian* made, that there should be Three presented to the Emperor in the Elections of the Patriarch, and he should chuse one of them. These things are generally known, and I need not insist on them. It is true, as there followed great confusions in the *Greek Empire*, till

till it was quite over-run and destroyed ; so there was scarce any one thing in which there was more doing and undoing than in the Election of the Patriarchs, the Emperors often did it by their own Authority ; Synodal Elections were also often set up, at length the Emperors brought it to that, that they delivered the Pastoral Staff to the Bishop, by which he was invested in his Patriarchat ; but it was never pretended, neither by the *Latin Church*, nor by the contrary Factions in the *Greek Church*, that Orders so given were Null. And yet the Emperor giving the Investiture with his own hand, is a far greater thing than our King's granting a Mandate for Consecrating and Investing them. For proof of this about the *Greek Church*, I refer it to *Habert* who has given a full Deduction of the Elections in that Church, from the days of the Apostles to the last Age.

*Tit. 17. Rit.
Elect. Patr.*

For the *Latin Church*, the Matter has been so oft examined, that it is to no purpose to spend much time about it. It is known and confessed by *Platina*, that the Emperor's Authority intervened when the Popes were created. And *Onuphrius* tells, that by a Decree of *Vigilius* the Custom had got in, that the Elected Pope should not be Consecrated till the Emperor had confirmed it, and had by his Letters Patents given the Elect Pope leave to be ordained, and that Licence was either granted by the Emperors themselves, or by their Lieutenants [or *Exarchs*] at *Ravenna* : And One and twenty Popes were thus Consecrated, *Pelagius* the second only excepted, who being chosen during the Siege of *Rome*, did not stay for it, but he sent *Gregory* (afterwards Pope) to excuse it to the Emperor, who was offended with it ; it continued thus till the days of *Constantine*, called *Pogonatus*, who first remitted it to *Benedict* the Second, and the truth of it was, the Power of the *Greek Emperors* was then fallen so low in *Italy*, that no wonder he parted with it. But so soon as the Empire was again set up in the West by *Charles the Great*, Pope *Adrian* with a Synod, gave him the Power of creating the Pope (as is set down in the very Canon Law it self) and of investing all other Arch-Bishops and Bishops, and an Anathema was pronounced against any that should Consecrate a Bishop that was not named and invested by him. This is likewise told by

*In Vita Sylvestri.
In Plat. in Pe-
lag. 2.*

Dist. 63.

In Pass. 1.

Platina

In Leo. 4.

Platina out of *Anastasius*. It is true, tho some Popes were thus chosen, yet the weakness of *Charles* the Great's Son, and the Divisions of his Children, with the Degeneracy of that whole Race, served the Ends of the growing Power of the Papacy. Yet *Lewis* laid it down, not as an Usurpation, but as a Right of which he divested himself: but his Son *Lothaire* reassumed it, and did confirm divers Popes; and *Anastasius* tells us that they durst not Consecrate the Pope without the Imperial Authority; and the thing was still kept up, at least in a shadow, till *Hadrian* the Third, who appointed that the Emperor's Concurrence or Licence should not be thought necessary in the creating of a Pope. And from *Hadrian* the First, who died *Anno* 795, till *Hadrian* the Third, there were 89 Years; and from *Vigilius* his days, who died *Anno* 555, there were 330 Years. So long were the Popes made upon the Emperors Mandates. Nor did the Emperors part easily with this Right, but after that the *Orto's* and the *Henry's* kept up their Pretension, and came oft to *Rome*, and made many Popes; and though most of the Popes so made were generally reckoned Anti-Popes and Schismaticks, yet some of them, as *Clement* the Second, are put in the Catalogue of the Popes by *Baronius* and *Binuum*; and by the late Publishers of the Councils, *Labbée* and *Cossartius*: There was indeed great opposition made to this at *Rome*; but let even their own Historians be appealed to, what a Series of Monsters, and not Men, those Popes were; how infamously they were Elected, often by the Whores of *Rome*, and how flagitious they were, we refer it to *Baronius* himself, who could not deny this for all his partiality in his great Work. But in the end Pope *Gregory* the Seventh got the better of the Emperors in this Particular.

And now let the Ingenuity of those Men be considered, who endeavour to Invalidate our Orders, and call our Priests and Bishops *Parliamentary Priests and Bishops*, because they are made upon the King's Mandate according to the Act of Parliament. When it is clear that for near 500 Years together, their own Popes were Consecrated for the most part upon the Emperor's Mandate. And it is certain the Kings of *England* have as much Power to do the same here, as the Emperors had to do it at *Rome*.

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The Emperors were wont also to grant the Investitures unto all the Bishopricks, by giving the Ring and the Staff, which were the Ceremonies of the Investiture, and so they both named and invested all the Bishops and Abbots. This Pope Gregory the Seventh thought was no more to be suffered than their creating the Popes, both being done by the same Authority : Therefore he resolved to wring them out of the Emperor's hands, and take them into his own ; and it was no wonder he had a great mind to bring this about, for the Bishopricks and Abbeyes were then so richly endowed, that it was the Conquest of almost the third part of the Empire, to draw the giving of them into his own Hands. Therefore he first disgraced these Laical Investitures by an ill name to make them sound odiously, and called all so Ordained, *Simoniacks*, as he also called the Married Clergy, *Nicolaitans*. Now every body knows how much any thing suffers by a scurvy Nick-name raised on it. But he went more roundly to work, and deposed the Emperor, and absolved his Subjects from their obedience. What bloody Wars and unnatural Rebellions of the Children against the Father, followed by the Popes instigation, is well enough known. In the end ; his Son that succeeded him was forced to yield up the matter to the Pope.

In *Spain* it appears both from the 12th and 16th Councils of *Toledo*, that the Kings there did chuse the Bishops, which *Baronius* does freely confess.

And *Gregory of Tours*, through his whole History, gives so many Instances of the Kings of *France* of the *Merovinian* Race, chusing and naming the Bishops, that it cannot be questioned ; all the Writers of the *Gallican* Church do also assert that their Kings gave the Investitures from the days of *Charles* the Great. But the Popes were still making Inroads upon their Authority ; for securing which *Charles* the Seventh caused the *Pragmatic Sanction* to be made. It is true, afterwards, Pope *Leo* the Tenth got *Francis* the First to set up the *Concordate* in its place ; against which the Assembly of the Clergy at *Paris* did complain, and appealed to a General Council, and yet by the *Concordate* the King retains still the Power of naming the Bishops.

In *England* there are some Instances of the *Saxon* Kings chusing Bishops ; and though so little remains of the Records

or Histories of that Time, that it is no wonder if we meet but few. Yet it is clear, that King *William* the Conqueror, and both his Sons, did give the Investitures to the Bishops; and though upon a Contest between King *Henry* the First and *Anselm* about them, the King did yield them to him; yet upon *Anselm's* death, he did re-assume that Power: I need need not say more to shew what were the Rights of the Crown in this Matter, nor how oft they were asserted in Parliament, nor how many Laws were made against the Incroachments and tyrannical Exactions of the Court of *Rome*; these are now so commonly known, and have been so oft printed of late, that I need add nothing about them. Only from all I have said, I suppose it is indisputably clear, That if Ordinations or Consecrations upon the King's Mandate, be invalid, which this Paper drives at, then all the Ordinations of the Christian Church are also annulled, since for many Ages they were all made upon the Mandates of Emperors and Kings. By all which you may see the great weakness of this Argument.

I shall to this add some Remarks' on a few Particulars of less weight, that are insinuated in this Argument.

First, The Writer of it would infer, from the Queen's calling *Cardinal Pool* the late and immediate *Arch-Bishop* and *Pastor* of *Canterbury*, that we acknowledge *Catholic Ordination* valid, lawful, and good. If by *Valid, Lawful, and Good*, be understood that which retained the Essentials of Ordination, and was according to the then Law, there is no doubt to be made of it; but if he mean that all the Forms and Ceremonies of their Ordination are acknowledged to be Good, he will never draw that Inference from these words.

Secondly, From the Clause of the Patents, that is, for supplying all Defects, considering the Necessity of the Times, he would infer, there was somewhat wanting in them which was thereby supplied: If by that [*Want*] he means an essential Defect, there was none such, for they were true Bishops. If he means only, that some things were not according to what the Law required, it is of no Force, for whoever makes a Law, can also dispense with it: Therefore the execution of these Laws being put in the Queen's hands, she might well dispense with some Particulars; all which the Parliament did afterwards confirm, and any defect in the point of Law might make

make them liable to the Civil Powers ; but it can by no means be pretended that this should annul the Ordinations, though illegally gone about.

Thirdly, He would infer from the Act of Parliament, that the Queen is made Pope, when he knows that both by one of the Articles of the Church, and another Act of Parliament, it is declared otherwise in express words as follows ; ' Where
' we attribute to the Queen's Majesty the chief Government ;
' by which Titles we understand the minds of some scandalous
' Folks to be offended ; we give not to our Princes the Mini-
' stry, either of God's Word, or of the Sacraments ; the
' which thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by *Elizabeth*
' our Queen, do most plainly testify : But only that Preroga-
' tive which we see to have been given always to all godly
' Princes in Holy Scriptures by God himself ; that is, that
' they should rule all Estates and Degrees committed to their
' charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal,
' and restrain with the Civil Sword the stubborn and evil do-
' ers. So that there is nothing of the Spiritual, much less of
the Papal & Tyrannical Power given to the King by the Law.

Article 37. of
the Civil Re-
gistrars.

Fourthly, From the Power given to the Queen to Authorize such Persons as she shall think fit to exercise that Jurisdiction, he infers, They may be either Clergy-men, Lawyers, Merchants, or Cobblers, since the *Statute* requires no more but that they be born Subjects of the Realm. But this is as well grounded as all the rest, for though that Statute does not name the qualification of the Persons, yet the other Statutes that Enacted the Book of Common-Prayer and the Ordinal, do fully specify what sort of Persons these must be, and it is not necessary that all things be in every Statute.

Fifthly, He in the end of this Paper pretends, that the Reason why this present Parliament altered the Ancient Forms, was, because they were null and invalid. The weakness and injustice of which was before shewed ; so that nothing needs to be repeated. And in fine, it has been also proved, that as both the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches have made many Alterations in their Rituals, so the Church of *England* which made these Alterations, had as good an Authority to do it by, as they had : To which I shall only add the words of the Council of *Trent* concerning the Power of the Church for making

Seff. 21. cap. 2.

* See what Vasques has said of Changes in the Forms of the Sacrament.

such Changes, when they give the Reason for taking away the Chalice. *The Church has Power in the Sacraments, retaining the Substance of them, to change or appoint such things which she shall judge more expedient; both for the profit of the Receivers, and for the Reverence due to the Sacraments, according to the variety of Things, Times, and Places.* Where, by their own confession, it is acknowledged the Church may make alterations in the Sacraments*: So that it is a strange confidence in them to charge on us an annulling of former Orders, because of a small addition of a few explanatory words. And so much for his Paper.

Now having sufficiently answered every thing in it; I hope I may be allowed to draw a few Conclusions in opposition to his. And;

First, We having true Priests, and true Bishops, are a true Church, since we believe all that Christ and his Apostles delivered to the World.

Secondly, We being thus a part of the Catholick Church, every one that lives according to the Doctrine professed among us, may and shall be saved.

Thirdly, We do truly eat the Flesh of Christ, and drink his Blood, having the Blessed Sacrament administered among us according to our Saviour's Institution.

Fourthly, We have as much Power to Consecrate the Holy Sacrament, as any that were Ordained in the Church for near a thousand Years together.

Fifthly, We have the Ministerial Power of giving Absolution, and the Ministry of Reconciliation, and of forgiving Sins, given us by our Orders.

Sixthly, All Men may (and ought to) join with us in the profession of the Faith we believe, and in the use of the Sacraments we administer, which are still preserved among us according to Christ's Institution; and that whosoever repents and believes the Gospel, shall be saved.

Seventhly, All and every of the Arguments he has used, are found to be weak and frivolous, and to have no force in them.

And thus far I have complied with your desires of answering the Paper you sent me, in as short and clear terms as I could. But I must add, that this ransacking of Records
† about

about a succession of Orders, tho' it adds much to the lustre and beauty of the Church, yet it is not a thing incumbent on every Body to look much into, nor indeed, possible for any to be satisfied about: for a great many Ages, all those Instruments are lost; So that how Ordinations were made in the Primitive Church, we cannot certainly know, it is a piece of History, and very hard to be perfectly known. Therefore it cannot be a fit study for any, much less for one that has not much leisure. The condition of Christians were very hard, if private Persons must certainly know how all Ministers have been Ordained since the Apostles Days; for if we will raise Scruples in this Matter, it is impossible to satisfy them, unless the Authentick Registers of all the Ages of the Church could be shewed, which is impossible; for tho' we were satisfied that all the Priests of this Age were duly Ordained; yet if we be not as sure that all who Ordained them had Orders rightly given them, and so upward till the Days of the Apostles, the Doubt will still remain. Therefore, it is an unjust and unreasonable thing to raise Difficulties in this Matter. And indeed if we go to such nice Scruples with it, there is one thing in the Church of Rome, that gives a much juster ground for these, than any thing that can be pretended in ours does; which is the Doctrine of the Intention of the Minister being necessary to make a Sacrament. Secret Intentions are only known to God, and not possible to be known by any Man: Therefore since they make Orders a Sacrament, there remains still ground to entertain a Scruple whether Orders be truly given. And this can never be cleared, since none can know other Mens Thoughts or Intentions.

Therefore the pursuing nice Scruples about this, cannot be a thing indispensably necessary, otherwise all People must be perplexed with endless Disquits and Doubtings. But the true Touchstone of a Church, must be the Purity of her Doctrine, and the Conformity of her Faith with that which Christ and his Apostles taught. In this the Scriptures are clear and plain to every one that will read and consider them sincerely and without prejudice; which that you may do, and by these may be led and guided into all Truth, shall be my constant Prayer to God for you.

AN APPENDIX,

About the Forms of Ordaining Priests and Bishops in the Latin Church.

BECAUSE the Decision of all the Questions that can be made, by those of the Church of *Rome*, about the Validity of our Orders, must be taken from the Ancient Forms of Ordination, as hath been fully made out in the foregoing Papers; therefore I hope it will not be unpleasant to the Reader, to see what the Forms of Ordinations were in the Latin Church, for many Ages, which he will more clearly understand, when he sees them at their full length, than he can do any Quotations out of them. *Morinus* has published sixteen of the most Ancient Latin Rituals he could find, composed from the end of the Fifth Century; at which time he judges the most Ancient of them was written, till within those last Four hundred Years; so that he gives us a clear view of the Ordinations of seven succeeding Ages of the Western Church. His Book is scarce to be had, and therefore I shall draw out of it, what relates to the Ordination of Priests and Bishops. Only as he has printed these Forms strictly as the Manuscripts were written, without altering some things that are manifestly the Faults of the Transcribers; so I shall set them down exactly, as he has published them, with the Emendations on the Margin from other Manuscripts, and add a Translation of them in English.

But I shall begin with the three first Canons of the Fourth Council of *Carthage*, in which we have the fullest and earliest Account of the Ordinations of Bishops and Priests in the Latine Church: And from the simplicity of these, and the many pompous Rites that are added in the latter Rituals, the Reader will both perceive how the Spirit of Superstition grew from Age to Age; and will be able to judg, whether the Church of *England*, or the Church of *Rome*, comes nearest the most Primitive Forms. These I set down according to the Manuscript published by *Morinus*, and Collationed on the Margin, with a Manuscript belonging to the Church of *Salisbury*, that is judged to be six hundred Years old, and al

so with that published by Labbe in the Tomes of the Councils.

Sacrarum Ordinationum Ritus.

Ex Concilio Carthaginensi quarto depromptus.

CANON I.

QUI Episcopus Ordinandus est, antea examinetur, si natura sit prudens, si docibilis, si moribus temperatus, si vita castus, si sobrius, si semper suis negotiis * cavens, * si humilis, si confabibilis, si misericors, si literatus, si in lege domini instructus, si in scripturam sensibus cantus, si in dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis exercitatus; & ante omnia, si fidei documenta verbis simpliciter afferat * id est, Patrem, & Filium, & Spiritum Sanctum unum Deum esse confirmans, totamque * Trinitatis Deitatem coessentialem, & consubstantialiam, & coeternalem, & coomnipotentem predicans; si * singularem quamque in Trinitate personam plenum Deum, * & totas tres personas Unum deum. Si incarnationem divinam non in Patre, neque in Spiritu Sancto factam, sed in Filio tantum credat, ut qui erat in Divinitate Dei Patris, ipse fieret in homine hominis Matris filius: Deus verus ex Patre, homo verus ex Matre, carnem ex matris visceribus habens, & animam humanam rationalem; simul in eo * ambæ naturæ, id est, Deus & Homo, una persona, unus filius, unus Christus, unus Dominus, Creator omnium que sunt & autor, & * Dominus, & Rector cum Patre & Spiritu Sancto, * omnium creaturaram Qui passus sit vera carnis Passione; mortuus vera corporis sui morte, resurrexit vera carnis sue * resurrectione, & vera anime resurrectione, in qua venit iudicare vivos & mortuos. Querendum etiam ab eo, si Novi & Veteris Testamenti, id est, Legis & Prophetarum, & Apostolorum unum eundemque credat autorem & Deumque. Si Diabolus non per conditionem, sed per Arbitrium, * sit malus. Querendum etiam ab eo, si credat hujus quam gestamus, & non alterius, carnis resurrectionem. Si credat iudicium futurum, & recepturas singulos pro his, que in t carne gesserunt, vel penas vel || gloriam. Si nuptias non improbet; si secunda Matrimonia non damnet; si carniū perceptionem non culpet; si penitentibus reconciliatis communice; si in Baptismo

†

omnia

* Vacans.

* Si omnibus affabilis.

* Deest.

* In Trinitate.

* Singulam.

* Desunt hæc in Labbeo.

* Utraque natura.

* Deest.

* Deest.

* Receptione.

* Hab. Lab. Facius, & Cod. Sarif.

† Hac vita.

|| Præmia.

omnis peccata, et si illa illud originale contractum, quoniam ista
qua voluntate admissa sunt, dimittantur; si extra Ecclesiam
Catholicam nullus salvetur.

Cum in his omnibus examinatus, inventus fuerit plene instru-
tus, tunc cum Consensu Clericorum, & Laicorum, & conventu
totius provincie Episcoporum, maximeque Metropolitanum vel Au-
thoritatem vel presentiam, ordinetur Episcopus. Suscepto in Nomine
Christi Episcopatu non sua delectatione, nec suis motibus, sed his
Patrum definitionibus acquiescat. [In ejus Ordinatione etiam
ut requiritur, quam Sancti Patres in prælegendis Episcopus con-
fratruantur.] De hinc disponitur, qualiter Ecclesiastica Officia Or-
dinantur.

* Desunt hæc
in MSS.
Cod. Saris.

* Desunt hæc
in MSS.
Cod. Saris.

* Desunt hæc
in MSS.
Cod. Saris.

* Desunt hæc
in MSS.
Cod. Saris.

* Desunt hæc
in MSS.
Cod. Saris.

* Desunt hæc
in MSS.
Cod. Saris.

CANON II.

Episcopus cum Ordinatur, duo Episcopi ponant, & teneant Evan-
geliorum Codicem supra Caput, & cervicem ejus; & duo
super eum stantem benedictionem; reliqui omnes Episcopi qui ad-
sunt, manibus suis caput ejus tangant.

CANON III.

Presbyter cum Ordinatur, Episcopo cum benedicente, & manum
super caput ejus tenente, etiam omnes Presbyteri qui presentes
sunt, manus suas juxta manum Episcopi super caput illius teneant.

In English thus.

CANON I.

LET Him that is to be Ordained a Bishop, be first ex-
amined if he be naturally prudent, and teachable, if in
his Manners he be temperate, if chaste in his Life, if sober,
if he looks to his own Affairs, be humble, affable, merciful
and learned; if he be instructed in the Law of the Lord,
and skilful in the Sense of the Scriptures; and acquainted
with Ecclesiastical Doctrines: And above all things, if he
assert the Articles of Faith in simple Words; that is to say,
affirms that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are one
God; and teaches that the whole Deity of the Trinity,
is Coessential, Consubstantial, Coeternal, and Coompo-
tent

"tent: and that every Person of the Trinity, is fully God :
 "and all the Three Persons are one God. If he believes
 "that the holy Incarnation was neither of the Father, nor
 "the Holy Ghost, but of the Son only : That He who
 "was the Son of God the Father by the Godhead, be-
 "coming a Man, was the Son of his Mother, very God of
 "his Father, and very Man of his Mother who had Flesh
 "of the Bowels of his Mother, and a human reasonable
 "Soul. And both Natures God and Man, were in Him
 "one Person, one Son, one Christ, one Lord the Creator
 "of all things that are, and the Author, Lord and Gover-
 "nour of all Creatures with the Father, and the Holy Ghost.
 "Who suffered a true Passion in his Flesh, and was dead
 "by a true death of his Body, and rose again with a true
 "Resurrection of his Flesh, and a true Re-assumption of
 "his Soul, in which He shall come to judg the Quick and
 "the Dead. It must likewise be asked if He believes, that
 "one and the same God was the Author of the Old and
 "New Testament; of the Books of the Law, the Prophets
 "and the Apostles. If the Devil be not wicked by his Will
 "and not by his Nature. And if he believes the Resurrecti-
 "on of this Flesh, which we now carry and not of any o-
 "ther, and the Judgment to come, and that every one shall
 "receive either Punishment or Glory, for what they have
 "done in the Flesh. If he does disapprove Marriage, or
 "condemn second Marriage, or blames the eating of Flesh.
 "If He communicates with Penitents, being reconciled. If
 "he believes that in Baptism all Sins, both that which is o-
 "riginally contracted, and those which are willingly com-
 "mitted are pardoned, and that none is saved out of the
 "Catholick Church.

"When being examined in all these things, he is found
 "fully instructed, then let him be ordained Bishop, with the
 "Consent of the Clergy and Laity, and the meeting of the
 "Bishops of the whole Province; and chiefly in the presence
 "or by the Authority of the Metropolitan. And he having
 "undertaken the Bishoprick in the name of Christ, must ac-
 "quiesce in the Definitions of the Fathers, and not in his own
 "pleasure or inclinations. And in ordaining him, that Age is
 "necessary which the holy Fathers appointed in the choosing

" of Bishops. After this it is appointed how all Ecclesiastical Offices are ordained.

CAN. II.

" **W**hen a Bishop is ordained, two Bishops shall lay and hold the Book of the Gospel, upon his Head, and Neck; and one saying the Blessing over him, all the other Bishops that are present, shall touch his Head with their Hands.

CAN. III.

" **W**hen a Presbyter is ordained, the Bishop blessing Him, and holding his hand upon his Head, all the Presbyters that are present, shall hold their Hands beside the Bishops Hand upon his Head.

The most ancient of the Rituals *Morinus* proves was written some time between the Year 511, and 560, in which the Ordination of the Priests is in this Fashion: It begins with an Exhortation to the People, to tell what they know of the Person to be ordained, and to make a publick Election of him. Then follows the Collect with this Rubrick.

Oratio ad Presbyteros Ordinandos.

O Remus, Dilectissimi, Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, ut super hunc famulum suum quem ad Presbyterii munus eligit, celestia dona multiplicet, & quæ ejus dignatione suscipiunt, ejus exquantur auxilio; per Dominum.

* In alijs
Cod. Et.

Item alia, Exaudi nos, Deus salutaris noster, * ut super hunc famulum tuum benedictionem Spiritus Sancti & gratia Sacerdotalis effunde virtutem, ut quem tue pietatis suspensibus offerimus Consecrandum, perpetua muneristui largitate persequaris; per Dominum.

In English thus,

A Prayer for the Priests that are to be ordained.

LET us pray, Beloved, to God the Father Almighty, that he may multiply Heavenly Gifts on this his Servant, whom he has chosen to the Office of Priesthood, that what they receive by his Favour, they may execute through his Help; *Through our Lord.*

And

And another.

Hear us, O God our Saviour, and pour upon this thy
 Servant the blessing of the Holy Ghost, and the virtue
 of Priestly Grace, that thou mayst follow him with a perpe-
 tual largeness of thy Gift, whom we offer up to thy holy
 Eyes to be Consecrated; Through our Lord.

CONSECRATIO.

Domine Sancte Pater Omnipotens aeternae Deus, honorum omni-
 um dignitatum quae tibi militant; distributor, per quem
 cuncta firmantur, amplificatis semper in melius naturae rationalis in-
 crementis per ordinem * congruam rationem dispositum, unde Sa-
 cerdotalis gradus & Officia Levitarum Sacramentis † Mystici in-
 stituta creverunt, ut cum || Pontifice summos regendis populis pre-
 fecisses ad eorum Societatis & operis adjumentum * sequentes or-
 dines viros, & secundae dignitatis elegeris, sic in eremo per Sep-
 tuaginta virorum prudentium, † mentis Moysi Spiritum propagasti,
 quibus ille adjutoribus usus in populo, innumeras multitudines fa-
 cile gubernavit. Sic & Eleazaro & Ithamar Filiis Aaron pa-
 terne plentitudinis abundantiam transfudisti, || & ad hostias salutaris,
 & frequentiores officii Sacramenta sufficeret mereretur Sacerdotum.
 Hac Providentia Domine, Apostolis Filii tui Doctores fidei Comi-
 tes addidisti quibus illi orbem totum secundis predicatoribus im-
 plexerunt. Quapropter infirmitati quoque nostra, Domine, que-
 sumus haec adjumenta largire, qui quanto magis fragiliores sumus,
 tanto his * plurius indigemus. Da quæsumus, Omnipotens Pater,
 in hoc † famulo tuo illi Presbyterii dignitatem: Innova in visce-
 ribus ejus Spiritum Sanctitatis: acceptum à te, Deus, secundi me-
 riti munus obtineat, censuramque morum exemplo suae conversatio-
 nis infuset. Sit || providus cooperatore Ordinis nostri, eluceat in
 * eum totius forma justitiae, ut bonam rationem dispensationis sibi
 credita reddaturus, aeterna beatitudinis pramia consequatur.

* In aliis MSS.
 Congrua rati-
 one.

† Mysticis.

|| Pontifices.

* Sequentis
 ordinis.

† Mentem.

|| Ut ad hosti-
 as salutares &
 frequentioris
 Officii Sacra-
 menta Mini-
 sterium suffi-
 ceret Sacerdo-
 tum.

* Pluribus.

† Hunc famu-
 lum tuum.

|| Probis.
 † Eo.

The Consecration.

O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty and Eternal God,
 the distributor of all Honours and Dignities that
 fight for thee, by whom all things are strengthened, the
 improvements of the rational Nature being always en-
 larged by Thee to the better, through a settled Order and

" congruous Reason, from whence the Priestly Degrees and
 " the Offices of the *Levites*, which were instituted by Myſtical
 " Sacraments did grow up; ſo that when thou ſettſt the High-
 " Priests to govern the People, thou didſt chooſe for the help
 " of their Society and Work, Men of an inferiour Order
 " and ſecond Dignity: So alſo in the Wilderneſs thou didſt
 " propagate the Spirit that was in *Moses* into ſeventy pru-
 " dent Men, whom he uſing as helpers with him over the Peo-
 " ple, did eaſily govern innumerable multitudes. So thou didſt
 " tranſuſe into *Eleazar* and *Ithamar* the Sons of *Aaron*, a-
 " bundance of the fulneſs that was in their Father, that the
 " Miniſtry of the Priests might be ſufficient for the expiatory
 " Sacrifices, and the Sacraments that were more frequent. By
 " the ſame Providence thou, O Lord, didſt add Companions to
 " the Apoſtles of thy Son, who were Teachers of the Faith,
 " with which Preachers of a ſecond rank they filled the whole
 " World. Wherefore, O Lord, we beſeech thee grant like-
 " wiſe thoſe helps to our Infirmity, who by ſo much the
 " weaker as we are, do need theſe the more. Grant we be-
 " ſeech thee, Almighty Father, to this thy Servant, the dignity
 " of Priesthood. Renew in his inward parts the Spirit of Ho-
 " lineſs, and let him obtain the Office of the ſecond Merit
 " received from thee, O God, and make him inſinuate by the
 " Example of his Converſation a Censure of Manners. Let
 " him be a Provident Fellow-labourer with our Order, and let
 " the form of all Righteouſneſs ſhine forth in him, that when
 " he ſhall render a good account of the Diſpenſation truſted
 " to, he may obtain the Rewards of Eternal Bleſſedneſs.

Conſummatio Presbyteri.

Hic.

S It nobis, Fratres, Communis Oratio, ut * his qui in adjutorium &
 utilitatem vestre Salutis eligetur, Presbyteratus Benedictionem
 divini indulgentia muneris consequatur, & S. Spiritus Sacerdotalia
 dona privilegio virtutum, ne impar loco deprehendatur, obtineat per
 suum. Per.

The Conſummation of a Priest.

" Brethren, Let us joyn in one Prayer, that he who is
 " Chosen for the help and profit of your Salvation, may
 " obtain the Bleſſing of the Office of Priesthood by the Di-
 " vine

vine Indulgence, and the Priestly Gifts of the Holy Ghost,
 " by the priviledg of his Vertue, lest he be found unfit for
 " his Place.

Item Benedictio.

Sanctificationum omnium Autor, cujus vera Consecratio, plena
 Benedictio est, Tu Domine, super hunc famulum illi. Quem
 * Presbyterii honore dedicamus, † manum tue Benedictionis eum
 infunde ut gravitate actuum, & censura vivendi probet se esse || se-
 niozem, his institutis disciplinis quas Titus & Timotheo Paulus ex-
 posuit, ut in lege tua die ac nocte, omnipotens, meditans, quod
 * elegerit, credat, quod crediderit, doceat, quod docuerit † medi-
 tetur: justitiam, constantiam, misericordiam, fortitudinem in se
 ostendat, || exemplum probet, * admonitionem confirmet, ut purum
 atq; immaculatum † ministerii tui domum custodiat, & per obsequi-
 um plebis tue || Corpus & Sanguinem Filii tui immaculata Bene-
 dictione transformet, & inviolabili caritate in virum perfectum, in
 mensuram ætatis plenitudinis Christi, in die justitia æterni judicii,
 conscientia pura, fide plena, Spiritu Sancto plenus persolvat. Per
 Dominum.

The Benediction.

" **T**HOU the Author of all Sanctifications, whose true Con-
 " secration is a full Benediction; Thou, O Lord, lay
 " the hand of thy Blessing upon this thy Servant, whom we
 " have dedicated to the honour of Priesthood, that by the
 " gravity of his Actions and the rule of living, he may prove
 " himself to be an Elder instructed in those Disciplines which
 " St. Paul delivered to Titus and Timothy: that meditating in
 " thy Law, O Almighty God, day and night, he may be-
 " lieve what he reads, and teach what he believes, and follow
 " what he teaches: and may shew forth Righteousness, Con-
 " stancy, Mercy, and Courage in himself, and approve him-
 " self a Pattern, and confirm his Admonitions, and may pre-
 " serve the Gift of thy Ministry undefiled; and through the
 " Obedience of thy People, may transform the Body and
 " Blood of thy Son with an undefiled Blessing, and may finish
 " all by an inviolable Charity in a perfect Man; in the
 " measure of the Stature of the fulness of Christ in the day
 " of the Justice of Eternal Judgment, with a pure Consci-
 " ence and a full Faith, being full of the Holy Ghost.

†

Then

* Ad Presby-
 terii honorem.
 † Gratiæ tuæ
 Benedictionis
 infunde.
 || Omnium.
 * Legerit.
 † Imitetur.
 || Deest.
 * Admoniti-
 one.
 † Mysterii.
 || Corpore &
 Sanguine Filii
 tui immacula-
 ta benedicti-
 one transfor-
 metur ad invi-
 olabilem cari-
 tatem.

Then follows the Consecration of their Hands in these words.

Consecratio Manus.

Consecrentur Manus istæ, & sanctificentur per istam Unctionem & nostram Benedictionem, ut quæcunque benedixerim, benedicta sint, & quæcunque sanctificaverim, sanctificentur. Per Dominum.

Item Alia.

Ungantur Manus istæ de Oleo Sanctificato; & Chrismate Sanctificationis, sicut unxit Samuel David in Regem & Prophetam, ita unguentur & consummentur in Nomine Dei Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, facientes Imaginem Sanctæ Crucis Salvatoris Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui nos à morte redemit, & ad regna Cælorum perducit. Exaudi nos, Pie Pater Omnipotens Æterne Deus, & presta quod te Rogamus & Orames. Per Dominum.

In English thus.

Let these Hands be consecrated and sanctified by this Unction and our Blessing, that whatsoever they bless, be blessed, and whatsoever they sanctifie, be sanctified, through our Lord.

And another.

Let these Hands be anointed with the Sanctified Oyl; and the Chrism of Sanctification, as Samuel anointed David to be both King and Prophet; So let them be anointed and perfected in the Name of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, making the Image of the Holy Cross of our Saviour the Lord Jesus Christ, who redeemed us from Death, and brings us to the Kingdom of Heaven. Hear us O Holy Father, Almighty and Eternal God, and grant what we desire and pray for; Through our Lord.

There is neither more nor less in that Ritual about the Ordination of a Priest. For this last of the anointing the Priests with Oyl, it cannot be called essential to the Priesthood, for the Greek Church never used it, and tho Nazianzen tells us that his Father had anointed St. Basil, and that himself was also anointed; yet neither the Apostolick Constitutions, nor Dionysius the Areopagite, nor Simcon of Thessalonica, nor Cæbasilas, tho they have delivered to us the Rites of Ordination

nation in the Greek Church, ever mention it. And it is in no Greek Ritual; So that what ever places are found in any Greek Author of anointing in Ordination, must be understood Allegorically and Mystically, of the effusion of the Holy Ghost. So both *Elias Cretenfis* and *Nicetas* the Scholiasts on *Nazianzen* expound his words; and there are some Passages near the end of his fourth Oration, that shew these other places of his are to be understood Metaphorically. This Rite is not mentioned by the Council of *Carthage*, and it seems was not received in *Spain* a great while after the Age of this Ritual; for *Isidor*, the very particular in other things (as the Staff and Ring) does not mention it, neither when he speaks of the Ordination of Priests, nor Bishops. Nor do the Councils in *Spain* mention it; and *Alcuine* speaks nothing of it, but it was only as seems used in the *Gallican* Church, and the first that I find clearly mention it, is *Amarinus*, but *Gildas* intimates it, for he speak of the Benediction; *qua initiantur Sacerdotum manus*, by which the Priests Hands are initiated.

Lib. 2. de Eccles.
Offic. cap. 5.

Lib. 2. c. 3.

In Eccles. Ord.

Pope *Nicolas* the first expressly says, that at *Rome* neither Priests nor Deacons were anointed. His words are; *Præterea seiscitaris utrum solis Presbyteris, an & Diaconibus debeant cum Ordinantur, manus Chrismat's liquore perungi, quod in Sancta hac Romana cui, Deo auctore, deservimus Ecclesia, neutris agitur. Sed & quia sit à novei legis ministris actum, nusquam nisi nos fallat oblivio, legimus:*

Epist. 19. ad
Radol. Bitur. c. 3.
which is also
in the Canon
Law. Dist. 23.
c. 12.

“ You ask me further, if only the Priests, or the Deacons
“ likewise, when they are ordained, should have their Hands
“ anointed with the Chrism? This is done to neither of them,
“ in this Holy Roman Church; where, by God's Appoint-
“ ment we serve, and if our Memory fails us not, we no-
“ where read that this was done by the Ministers of the new
“ Law.

The second Ritual published by the same Author, is as he believes, nine hundred Years old, and has been compiled for the Church of *Rome*; being that which is commonly called *Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, in which the Rubricks and Prayers are the same with the former, only the Anointing is not mentioned in that part of it that relates to the Ordination of Priests, but the Transcriber after the Office of the

†

Ordina-

Ordination of the Subdeacons adds the Rite and Collects for the anointing the Priests, which *Morinus* believes he did to accommodate it to the French Rites.

The third Ritual is, as *Morinus* believes, ancienter than eight hundred Years, in which the Rites and Collects are the same with the former, only the Consummation and Blessing is wanting, and a new Rite is added of giving the Vestiment, with these words which are instead of the Blessing.

Hic Vestis & Casulam.

Benedictio Patris & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti descendat super te, ut sis benedictus in Ordine Sacerdotali, & offeras placabiles hostias pro peccatis atque offensionibus populi Omnipotenti Deo. Cui sit Honor & Gloria in secula seculorum.

In English thus.

“**T**HE Blessing of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, descend upon Thee, that thou mayst be blessed in the Priestly Order, and may offer acceptable (or expiatory) Sacrifices, for the Sins and Offences of the People, to Almighty God. To whom be Honour and Glory for ever and ever.

Tom. 3. The fourth Ritual is the same with that which *Angelus Rocca* published among *Gregory* the Great's Works, where are the two first Collects and Prayer of Consecration; as in the first: with the anointing of the hands, as is there: and the giving the Vestments, with the words in the third Ritual.

The fifth Ritual, which he sets down has nothing relating to the Ordination of Priests; but the two first Collects and the Prayer of Consecration before set down, which upon that account he judges defective.

The sixth Ritual, about eight hundred Years old, composed for the Church of *England*, has all that is in the first Ritual, with these Additions. It begins with the Canon of the Council of *Carthage*, about the Ordination of a Priest. Then follow the Collects and Prayer before set down. Then there is added this Blessing, before the anointing of the hands.

Bene-

Benedictio vel Consecratio manuum Sacerdotis ante Uncti-
nem Chrismatis.

Benedic, Domine, & sanctifica has manus sacerdotis tui ill. ad
Consecrandas hostias quæ pro delictis atque negligentis popu-
li offeruntur, & ad cætera Benedicenda quæ ad usus populi neces-
saria sunt, & præsta, quæsumus, ut quæcunque benedixerint,
benedicantur, & quæcunque sacraverint sacrentur, Salvator mun-
di qui vivis & regnas.

‘**B**less, O God, and sanctifie these hands of thy Priest,
‘for consecrating the Sacrifices which are offered for the
‘sins and negligences of the people, and for blessing of all o-
‘ther things that are necessary for the use of the people; and
‘Grant we beseech Thee, O Saviour of the World, who li-
‘vest and reignest, that whatsoever they Bless may be Bless-
‘ed, and whatever they Consecrate may be Consecrated.

Then follows the Anointing of the hands as before. Then
is added the Anointing of the head, with this Prayer :

Consecratio Capitis cum oleo.

Ungatur & Consecretur Caput tuum cælesti Benedictione in
Ordine Sacerdotali, in nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus
Sancti.

‘**L**ET thy head be Anointed, and Consecrated with a
‘Heavenly Benediction in the Priestly Order, in the
‘name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

Then the Vestments are given as in the Third Ritual,
with a little variation in the Collect, and then follows the
Consummation and Blessing; as was in the first Ritual be-
fore set down.

The Seventh Ritual, which *Morinus* reckons likewise Eight
Hundred Years Old, has the same Collects, Consecration,
and Benediction with the First, with the delivery of the
Vestment and Prayer, as is in the Third Ritual, and the
anointing of the Hands, as in the First, without any further
Rite.

AN APPENDIX.

The Eighth Ritual, is near the same Age with the Former, the two first Collects and Prayer of Consecration, are in it as in the First, and the Giving the Vestment, as in the Third, and the Consecrating of the Hands, as in the First, and there is no more in that Ritual.

The Ninth Ritual, which He believes is Seven Hundred Years Old, has the First Collects and the Prayer of Consecration, as in the First. There is a little inconsiderable variation in the Giving of the Vestments, from what is in the Third. The Hands are anointed as in the First. The Head is anointed as in the Sixth, and the Hands are blest'd as in the Sixth, the Consummation and Benediction are according to the First. Then some Collects and Blessings are added, relating to their Fasting and Abstinence.

The Tenth Ritual, about the same Age has the Two First Collects, and the Prayer of Consecration according to the First, then follows the giving the Vestments according to the Third. Then is the anointing of the Hands according to the First, and the Blessing of them according to the Sixth. There is no more in that Ritual.

The Eleventh Ritual, about the same Age, has the Exhortation to the People, and the Two First Collects, with the Prayer of Consecration as in the First. Then these Additions follow. He puts one of the Vestments, called *Orarium*, on him, and says,

Accipe jugum Dei, jugum enim ejus suave est, & onus ejus leve.

'Take the Yoke of God, for his Yoke is sweet, and his burden is Light.

Then the *Casula* is put on him with these words:

Stola Innocentie induat te Dominus.

'Let the Lord cloath thee with the Robe of Innocence.

Then follows the Blessing as in the First, and the anointing the Hands, with a small variation in the Collect from the words of the First.

This being done, the Paten with the Hosties, and the Chalice with the Wine, is given with these words:

Accipe

Accipe Potestatem offerre Sacrificium Deo Missamque Celebrare tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis, in Nomine Domini.

‘Receive thou Power to offer Sacrifice, and to Celebrate the Mass, as well for the Living as for the Dead, in the Name of the Lord.

Then follows the Blessing as is in the Third Ritual.

The Twelfth and Thirteenth Rituals, the one being about Six Hundred and Fifty Years Old, the other a Hundred Years later, have the First Collects, and Prayer of Consecration, as the First had. And the Blessing that is in the Third, with the Consecration of the Hands that is in the First.

The Fourteenth Ritual, about five Hundred Years Old, has the two Collects and Prayer of Consecration as in the First. Then the *Orarium* is given as in the Eleventh, with an Addition in Giving the *Casula*.

Accipe vestem Sacerdotalem per quam Charitas intelligitur; Potens est enim Deus ut augeat tibi Charitatem, qui vivit.

‘Receive the Priestly Vestment by which Charity is understood; for God is able to increase thy Charity, who lives.

Then follows the Consummation, and Benediction as in the first; Then the Bishop makes a Cross in their Hands with the Oyl and Chrism; and uses the words in the Eleventh Ritual; then he gives the Sacred Vessels as in that same Ritual. Then follows the Blessing in the Third Ritual, and then the Bishop is to kiss them.

The fifteenth Ritual, is about Four Hundred and Fifty Years Old, and has very near the same Rubricks that are in the former, only upon the Margin, where the words are to be pronounced in the delivering the Sacred Vessels, is written, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum; quorum remisistis peccata, &c.* Receive the Holy Ghost; whose sins ye remit, &c.

The Sixteenth Ritual, about Three Hundred years Old, agrees with the former, in the fore-mentioned Rites and Collects; but has this Addition, that the Bishop lays on his Hands on the Priests, and says, *Receive the Holy Ghost; whose sins ye remit, they are remitted to them, and whose sins you retain, they are retained.* But in two other Pontificals which *Morinus* believes are of the same Age, these Words

and that Rite are wanting. In the *Ordo Romanus*, which some believe is a work of the Ninth Century, others that it is of the Eleventh Century, there are set down first some Questions and Answers to the Priests to be Ordained, then the two Collects with the Prayer of Consecration follow, as in the Rituals before set down, only it is marked in the Rubrick that the Bishop and Priests lay on their hands at the first Collect, then follow all the other Rites of Giving the Vestments, anointing and delivering the sacred Vessels; but the last Imposition of hands with the words, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, are not in it.

From all which it clearly appears what must be Essential to Ordination, and what not; none of those Rites that are only found in Later Rituals are essential: for the Ordinations were good and valid before these were added. But that in which all these Rituals agree must be acknowledged of greatest weight and chief Importance, and that is the Prayer of Consecration with the two Collects that go before it. For in those they all agree, but vary in every thing else; and therefore *Morinus* thinks the former of these Collects, is now the form of Priestly Orders, for which He has another strong Argument, which is, that as he proves both by the ancient Canons, and even by the Doctrine of the Council of *Trent*; the Imposition of the Priests hands with the Bishop is necessary in these Ordinations, and they only lay on hands with the Bishop when that Collect is pronounced, from which he infers that then the Priests Orders are conferred. But it is clear from all those Rituals that these Collects were Preparatory to the Prayer of Consecration which only is the form of these Orders according to those Rituals.

And thus far of the office of Ordaining Priests, I shall next set down from those Rituals the Office, Rubricks, Rites, and Prayers used in the Consecration of a Bishop.

The Office begins with an Exhortation to the people, declaring the Necessity of substituting one Pastor to another, and that therefore upon the former Bishops Death, there is another chosen by the Priests and the whole Clergy, with the advice of the Citizens and people, who is well qualified for it; therefore they are desired to approve of the Choice by their Voices, and to declare him worthy of it. Then follows,
Oratio

Oratio & * Precis de Ordinandis Episcopis.

* Preces.

O Remus, Dilectissimi nobis, ut his viris ad utilitatem Ecclesie
* providendis, benignitas omnipotentis Dei, gratiæ suæ tri-
buat largitatem; per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.

* Providendam vel pro-
dens.

Alia: Benedictio Episcoporum.

In other Ritu-
als thus.

E Xaudi, Domine, supplicum Preces, ut quod nostrum gerendum
est ministerium tua potius virtute firmetur. Per Dominum
nostrum Jesum Christum.
quod humilitatis nostræ gerendum est Ministerio, virtutis impleatur effectu. Per.

Adesto suppli-
cationibus no-
stris, omni-
potens Deus, &

Alia.

P Ropitiare, Domine, supplicationibus nostris: & * inclinatus * Inclinato-
super hos famulos tuos cornu gratiæ Sacerdotalis, Benedictio-
nis tuæ in eos effunde virtutem. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum
Christum.

Coll. sequitur.

D Eum totius Sanctificationis ac Pietatis actorem, qui placationem suam & sacrificia & sacra constituit, Fratres Dilectissimi, deprecemur, ut hunc famulum suum quem ex altari in Ecclesia, & seniorum Cathedra concordibus sua inspiratione iudiciis, & effusis super plebem suam votis fidelibus, ac vocum testimoniis voluit imponi, collocans eum, cum principibus populi sui, ad eorum nunc precem universam eundem summum sacerdotium debita honoris plenitudine Charismatum gratia, sanctificationum ubertate hac, præcipue humilitatis virtute locupletet, ut Rector potius non extollatur, sed in omnibus se quantum est major humilians, sit in ipsis quasi unus ex illis, omnia iudicii Domini nostri non pro se tantum, sed & pro omni populo qui sollicitudinis suæ creditur contremiscens, ut qui meminerit de speculatorum manibus omnium animas requirendas pro omnium salute pervigilet, pastoralis erga creditas sibi ovæ Domini diligentiae ejus semper se flagrantissimum adprobens. Te dilectorum adigitur præfuturus ex omnibus electus, ex quibus universis sacris, sacrandisque idoneus fiat sub hac quæ est homini

per

An APPENDIX.

per hominem poſtrima benediſſio confirmata atque perfectæ ſuæ conſecrationis noſtræ ſupplicationis adentiſſime concordiffimique omnium precibus adjuvemur, omnium pro ipſo oratio incumbat, cui exorandi pro omnibus pondus imponitur. Impetret ei affectus totius eccleſiæ virtutem, pietate ſanctificationem, & cæteras ſummi Sacerdotii ſacras dotes univerſæ eccleſiæ profuturas, Domino Deo noſtro qui Sacrorum numerum profluus fons eſt, qui dat omnibus affluenter quod Sacerdoti pro affectu poſcitur, ad exundandam in omnibus ſanctificationem ſuorum omnium promptiſſimè ac pleniffimè conferentem. Per Dominum noſtrum.

A Collect and Prayers for the Biſhops to be Ordained.

‘**B**eloved, let us pray that the bounty of Almighty God
‘may give of the fulneſs of his Grace to thoſe men who
‘are to be provided for the uſe of the Church, *Through our Lord.*

‘**H**ear, O Lord, the Prayers of thy Supplicants, that the
‘Ministry which we are to bear may be confirmed by
‘thy power, *Through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.*

‘**B**e favourable to our Supplications, O Lord, and put
‘upon theſe thy Servants the horn of thy Prieſtly Grace,
‘and pour upon them the vertue of thy bleſſing, *Through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.*

‘**B**eloved Brethren, let us pray to God who is the Author
‘of all Holineſs and Piety, who appointed Sacrifices
‘and holy Offices, by which he is pleaſed, that he would,
‘upon the Prayer of all his people, enrich this his Servant
‘whom he has appointed by the agreeing voices according
‘to his Inſpiration and the faithful deſires which he has inſuſed in the people, and the testimony of their voices, to
‘be raiſed from the Altar in the Church, and the ſeat of the
‘Elders, placing him with the Princes of his people: with
‘the fulneſs of the honour of the High-Prieſthood, and the
‘Grace of ſanctifying Gifts in great measure, and chiefly
‘with the vertue of Humility, that being a Governour, he
‘be not liſted up, but that in all things he humble himſelf
‘the

'the greater he grows, and be among others, as one of
'them; trembling at all the Judgments of God, not only
'for himself, but for all the People trusted to his care, re-
'membering that all their Souls shall be required at the Hands
'of the Watchmen; and therefore may watch for all their
'safety, approving himself always most inflamed with Pa-
'storal diligence about the Lord's Sheep trusted to him.

I cannot make sense of the rest, for this Collect is in no
other Ritual, and the Copy out of which it is printed, as it
is very Ancient, so it has been most uncorrectly written.

CONSECRATIO.

DEUS honorum omnium, Deus omnium dignitatum, quæ gloria
tuæ sacris famulantur honoribus: Deus qui Moysen famu- * Sacratiss.
lum tuum secreti familiaris * affectu inter cætera cælestis documenta * Affatu.
cultura, de habitu quoque inducendi Sacerdotis instituens, Ele-
ctum Aaron Mystico amictu vestire inter Sacra iussisti, ut intelli-
gentiæ sensum de exemplis priorum caperet secutura Posteritas, ne
eruditio Doctrinæ tuæ ulli deesset ætati, cum & apud veteres reve-
rentiam ipsam significationum species obtineret, & apud nos certi-
ora essent experimenta rerum quam ænigmata figurarum. Illius
namque sacerdotii anterioris habitus nostræ mentis ornatus est, &
Pontificalis Gloriæ non jam nobis * honorem commendat vestrum * Honor.
sed * splendorem animarum. Quia & illa quæ tunc carnalibus * Splendor.
blandiebantur obtutibus, ea potius quæ ipsis erant intelligenda posce-
bant. Et idcirco famulus tuus, quæsumus, quod ad summi Sacer-
dotii * sacerdotii elegisti, hanc quæsumus, Domine, gratiam lar- * Ministeri-
giaris, ut quidquid illa velamina in fulgore auri, in nitore gemma- um.
rum, & multimodi operis varietate signabant, hoc in eorum moribus
clarescat. *** Comple, Domine, in Sacerdotibus tuis mysterii tui ***
summam, & ornamentis totius glorificationis * instructum cælestis * Instructos
unguenti flore Sanctifica. *** Hoc, Domine, copiose in eorum ca- eos.
put influat, hoc in cruce subjecta decurrat, hoc in totius corporis ex-
trema descendat, ut tui Spiritus virtus & † interiorum ora repleat, † Interiora
& exteriora circumtegat. Abundet in his constantia fidei, puritas corum.
Dilectionis, sinceritas pacis. [Sint speciosi munere tuo pedes horum
ad Evangelizandum pacem, ad Evangelizandum bona tua. Da
eis, Domine, mysterium reconciliationis in verbo, & in virtute &
* signorum, & prodigiorum. Sit sermo eorum & prædicatio non * Signis &
in Prodigis.

† Virtute.

† Ligaverint.

† Ligatum.

* Dimiserint.

† Dimittas.

] Desunt hæc in
[] in plurimis
MSS.

in persuasibilibus humanæ sapientiæ verbis, sed in ostensione Spiritus & † Virtutis. Da eis, Domine, claves Regni cælorum : Utantur nec glorientur Potestate quam tribuis in ædificationem, non in destructionem. Quodcunque * legaverint super terram sit † legatum & in cælis, Et quodcunque solverint super terram sit solutum & in cælis. Quorum detinuerint peccata, detenta sint, & quorum * demiserint, tu † demittas. Qui benedixerit eis sit benedictus, & qui maledixerit eis, maledictionibus repleatur. Sint servi fideles & prudentes quos constituas tu, Domine, super familiam tuam, ut dent illis cibum in tempore necessario, ut exhibeant omnem hominem perfectum. Sint solitudine impigri, sint spiritu ferventes, ode rint superbiam, diligant veritatem, nec eam unquam deserant aut lassitudine aut timore superati. Non ponant lucem ad tenebras, nec tenebris lucem ; non dicant malum bonum, nec bonum malum. Sint sapientibus & insipientibus debitores, & fructum de profectu omnium consequantur.] Tribuas eis, Domine, Cathedram Episcopalem ad regendam Ecclesiam tuam, & plebem universam. Sis eis autoritas, sis eis potestas, sis eis firmitas. Multiplices super eos benedictionem, & gratiam tuam, ut ad exorandam semper misericordiam tuam munere idonei, tua gratia possint, esse devoti ; per Dominum nostrum, &c.

The CONSECRATION.

‘ O God of all the Honours, O God of all the Dignities, that serve in the Holy Offices to thy glory ; O God who when thou instructedst *Moses* thy Servant with a secret and familiar affection, among other Instructions of the heavenly Ornaments, didst teach him the Priestly Garments, and commandedst him to cloath *Aaron* thy Chosen, when he did officiate, that the following Ages might be instructed by those that went before them, that the knowledge of thy Doctrine might be wanting in no Age, the appearance of the things signified being revered among the Ancients, but among us the real Experiments are more certain than the Riddles of Figures. For the Habit of the former Priesthood in us is the Ornament of our Minds, and it is not the shining of our Clothes, but of our Souls, that commends in us the Honour of the Priestly Glory ; because they did more desire those things that pleased their carnal Eyes,

' Eyes, than the things they should have understood by them.
 ' And therefore we beseech thee, O Lord, grant this Grace to
 ' those thy Servants whom thou hast chosen to the Ministry
 ' of the High Priesthood, that whatever those Garments sig-
 ' nified in the shining of the Gold, in the brightness of the
 ' Gems, and in the curiousness of the Workmanship, all that
 ' may appear in their Manners. * * Accomplish, O Lord, in
 ' thy Priests the fulness of thy Mystery, and having adorned
 ' him with all the Ornaments of Glory, sanctifie him with
 ' the flower of the heavenly Ointment. * * Let that, O Lord,
 ' fall plentifully on their Head, and run down the rest of their
 ' Face, and descend to the Extremities of their Body, that
 ' the Virtue of thy Spirit may fill them inwardly, and com-
 ' pass them about outwardly. Let the Constancy of Faith,
 ' the Purity of Love, and the Sincerity of Peace abound in
 ' them. [Let their Feet through thy favour be beautiful to
 ' preach Peace, and to preach thy good things. Give them,
 ' O Lord, the Ministry of Reconciliation, in word and in
 ' power, in signs and wonders. Let their Discourse and
 ' Preaching be not in the persuading Words of humane
 ' Wisdom, but in the Demonstration of the Spirit and of
 ' Power. Give them, O Lord, the Keys of the Kingdom of
 ' Heaven. Let them use, but not glory in their Power which
 ' thou givest them, to Edification, and not to Destruction :
 ' Whatsoever they shall bind on Earth, let it be bound in
 ' Heaven; and what they shall loose on Earth, let it be
 ' loosed in Heaven : Whose Sins they retain, let them be re-
 ' tained; and whose they remit, do thou remit. Who blef-
 ' ses them, let him be blessed; and who curses them, let him
 ' be filled with Curses: And let them be faithful and wise
 ' servants, whom thou shalt appoint over thy Household to
 ' give them Meat in due season, that they may present every
 ' Man perfect. Make them diligent in Business, and fervent
 ' in Spirit. Make them hate Pride and love Truth, and
 ' let them never forsake it either through weariness or fear.
 ' Let them not put Light for Darkness, nor Darkness for
 ' Light, nor call Evil Good, nor Good Evil. Let them be
 ' Debtors both to the Wise and Unwise, that they may ga-
 ' ther Fruit from the profiting of all Men.] Give them, O
 ' Lord, an Episcopal Chair for the Governing of thy Church
 O ' and

[All this be-
 tween [] is
 wanting in ma-
 ny Rituals.

‘and whole People. Be thou to them Authority, Power, and Strength. Multiply upon them thy Blessing and Grace, that being fitted by thy Gift always to implore thy Mercy, they may be devout by thy Grace: *Through our Lord Jesus Christ.*

There follow some Collects that are called in the Rubrick *Super Oblata*, which belong to the Office of the Communion, and are Prayers for the Bishop; and this is all in that Ritual, that relates to the Ordination of a Bishop.

The Second Ritual in all things agrees with the former.

The Third Ritual begins that Office with the second Canon of the Fourth Council of *Carthage*, about the Consecration of Bishops; then follow the Collects, *Oremus, Adesto and Propitiare*, as in the first; then the Prayer of Consecration, *Deus Honorum omnium*: And at the word *Comple* the Bishop takes the Chrism, and at the words *Hoc Domine* he pours it on the Head of the Person to be Consecrated; but all from *Sinceritas Pacis*, to *Tribuas ei Domine*, is left out; then follow the Collects *Super Oblata*, there is no more in that Ritual. For the Anointing of Bishops, tho it was neither used in the *Eastern* nor *African* Churches, yet both Pope * *Leo* and *Gregory* the Great mention it as a Rite then received in the *Roman* Church. † *Amalarinus* gives an account of it, but cites no ancienter Author for it than || *Beda*, for some other *Authorities* that are brought to prove the greater Antiquity of this Rite, are either *Allegorical*, or relate to the Chrism, with which all were anointed at their Confirmation.

The Fourth Ritual has first the Questions that are put to the Bishop that is to be Ordained, which has begun, it seems, from the time of the Fourth Council of *Carthage*, where, by the First Canon, the Bishop was to be examined, both about his Faith and Manners. I shall only set down two of these; the one is, *Vis ea quæ ex Divinis scripturis intelligis, plebem cui Ordinandus es & verbis docere & exemplis?* ‘Wilt thou both by the Words and Example instruct the People, for whom thou art to be ordained, in those things which thou dost understand out of the Holy Scriptures? To which he answers, I will. And this alone, were there no more, may serve to justify those Bishops who got Orders in the Church of *Rome*, and afterwards received the Reformation; since by the very Sponsions given in their Ordination, they had engaged themselves

* *Serm. 2. de Pass. Dom.*

† *In 1 Rrg. cap. 10.*

|| *Lib. 6. 14.*

Lib. 3. de

Tab. cap. 9.

See Morin.

Ex. 6. c. 2.

selves to instruct their Flocks according to the Scriptures. Another Question is, *Vis esse subditus huic nostræ Sedi atque Obediens?* 'Wilt thou be subject and obedient to this our See? Which was no other than what every Metropolitan demanded of all the Bishops under him, and yet this is all the Obedience then promised to the Pope; far different from the Oaths which were afterwards exacted. But I go on to give an account of the rest of the Office according to this Ritual. In the Rubrick, the Second Canon of the Fourth Council of Carthage is set down, to which is added, *Hoc facto accipiat patinam cum Oblatis & Calicem cum vino, & det ei, dicens, Accipe Potestatem offerre Sacrificium, &c.* 'Which being done, he 'shall take the Patin with the Hosties, and the Chalice with 'the Wine, and shall give him, saying, Receive Power to 'offer Sacrifice, &c. So that this was used in the Consecration of Bishops, long before it was in the Making of Priests. Then follow *Oremus, Adesto, and Propitiare*, as they are before set down: Then two new Rites are set down; the Rubrick is,

Ad Annulum dandum.

Memor sponsionis & desponsationis Ecclesiasticæ, & Dilectionis Domini Dei tui in die, qua affectus es hunc honorem, cave ne obliviscaris illius. Accipe ergo Annulum discretionis, & honoris fidei signum, ut quæ signanda sunt, signes: Et quæ aperienda sunt prodas: Quæ liganda sunt, liges: quæ solvenda sunt, solvas: utque credentibus per fidem baptismatis, lapsis autem sed pœnitentibus, per mysterium reconciliatiœ januas regni celestis aperias: Cunctis verò de thesauro dominico nova & vetera præferas, ut ad æternam salutem omnibus consulas, gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, cui cum Patre & Spiritu Sancto est honor & gloria in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

For giving the Ring.

Being mindful of the Sponson and Ecclesiastical Wedding, and of the Love of the Lord God, in the day in which thou hast attained this Honour, beware lest thou forget it: Receive therefore the Ring, the Seal of Discretion, and of the honour of Faith, that thou maist seal the things

' things that are to be sealed, and maist open the things that
' are to be opened, and maist bind the things that are to be
' bound, and maist loose the things that are to be loosed, and
' maist open the Gates of the heavenly Kingdom to the belie-
' vers, by the Faith of Baptism: and to those that have fal-
' len, but are Penitent, by the mystery of Reconciliation,
' and that thou maist bring forth to all Mën out of the trea-
' sure of the Lord, things new and old, and that thou maist
' take care of all their Eternal Salvation, *through the grace of*
' *our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom, &c.*

Ad Baculum dandum.

A *Ccipe Baculum sacri Regiminis signum, ut imbecilles consoli-
des, titubantes confirmes, pravos corrigas in viam salutis æ-
ternæ, habeasque potestatem attrahendi dignos, & corrigendi indig-
nos, cooperante Domino nostro Jesu Christo, cui cum patre in uni-
tate Spiritus Sancti est virtus & imperium, per omnia sæcula sæ-
culorum. Amen.*

For giving the Staff.

' **R** Eceive the Staff, the sign of the Sacred Government;
' that thou maist strengthen the weak, confirm them
' that stagger, correct the wicked in the way of Eternal Sal-
' vation, and may have power to attraçt the worthy, and
' correct the unworthy, *through the assistance of our Lord Jesus*
' *Christ, to whom, &c.*

Then follows the Prayer of Consecration, and at the words
Hoc Domine, the Rubrick appoints the Chrism to be put on
his Head, and what is left out in the former Ritual, is also
left out in this; after that Prayer follows the Collect *Super*
Oblata, and there is no more in that Ritual.

For these Rites of the Ring and Staff, the first I find that
mentions them is ^a *Isidore*, who both speaks of them, and al-
so sets down some of the words used in the former Ritual.
Yet ^b *Alcuin* speaks not a word of it, tho he entitles his
Chapter, *The manner in which a Bishop is Ordained in the Ro-
man Church*. But it seems he has only look't on some more
Ancient Rituals, in which there was no such Rite; for it is
most

^a De Ecclef.
offic. lib. 2.

cap. 5.

^b Lib. de Di-
offic. cap. Quali-
ter Episcopus
ordinetur in Ec-
cles. Romana.

most certain, that it was used in his time. ^c *Amalaricus*, tho he does at a great length insist on the anointing of the Bishop; yet speaks not a word of the Staff or Ring. But ^d *Rabanus Maurus*, who lived in that time, does mention it, or rather sets down *Isidore's* words without citing him; but whether these were foisted in or not, I cannot judge. Now these Rites were afterwards a ball of Contention; for the Emperors and Kings did give the Investiture by them, which had they been given without such words, they might have more easily kept up their pretension; but the words joined with them, relating wholly to Spiritual things, were no doubt made a great Argument for taking them out of their hands: Since it seemed very incongruous for a Secular and Lay Person, to pronounce them, or perform a Rite to which such words were added.

^c Lib. 2. de
Eccles. offic.
cap. 14.
^d Lib. de Instit.
Cler. cap. 4.

See Pet. de
Marca, Concor.
Sac. & Imp. l. 1.
8. c. 19. n. 9.

The Fifth Ritual has only the Collects, *Adesto*, and *Propitiare*, and the Prayer of Consecration, (without the Rubrick for giving the Chrism) and the Collects *Super Oblata*; leaving out in the Prayer of Consecration what is left out in the two former Rituals.

The Sixth Ritual has the Collects *Adesto* and *Propitiare*, with the Prayer of Consecration, as in the first (in which the Rubrick about putting the Chrism on the Head is also); then follows a new Prayer, that is in no other Ritual, for the Bishop thus Ordained, after which there is a Blessing called *De septiformi Spiritu*, For the sevenfold Grace of the Holy Ghost; then are the Hands of the Bishop Consecrated with holy Oyl, and the Chrism, with these words.

Consecratio manuum Episcopi ab Archiepiscopo, Oleo sancto & Chrismate.

U Ngantur manus istæ & sanctificentur & in te Deo Deorum
ordinentur. Ungo hæc manus oleo sanctificato & Chrismate
unctionis purificato, sicut unxit Moyses verbo oris sui Manus S. Aaron Germani sui, & sicut unxit Spiritus Sanctus per suos flatus, manus suorum Apostolorum, ita ungantur manus istæ & sanctificentur, & consecrentur, ut in omnibus sint perfectæ, in nomine tuo, Pater, Filique tui atque æterni Spiritus S. qui es unus ac summus Dominus omnium vivorum & mortuorum, manens in sæcula sæculorum.

Let

‘LET these Hands be Anointed, and Sanctified, and Ordained for the God of Gods. I anoint these Hands with Sanctified Oil, and the purified Chrism of anointing; as *Moses* by the word of his mouth anointed holy *Aaron* his brother, and as the Holy Ghost by his breathings did anoint the Hands of his Apostles, so let these hands be anointed, Sanctified and Consecrated, that they may be perfect in all things in thy Name, O Father, and in thy Sons, and thy Holy Spirit’s, who art the only and great God of the quick and of the dead for ever and ever. *Amen.*

Then his Head is anointed with the following words.

Hic mittatur oleum super caput ejus.

U*Ngatur & Consecretur Caput tuum celesti benedictione in Ordinem Pontificalem, in nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti.*

‘LET thy Head be Anointed and Consecrated with a heavenly Blessing for the Pontifical Order, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

Then the Staff is Blessed in these words in Verse:

*Tu Baculus nostræ, & Rector per secula vitæ,
Istum sanctifica pietatis jure Bacillum,
Quo mala sternantur, quo semper recta regantur.*

‘Thou who art the Staff of our Life, and our guide, for ever sanctifie this Staff, by which ill things may be beaten down, and right things always guided.

Then the Staff is given, and after that the Ring, almost with the same words that are in the Fourth Ritual, then follows a Prayer that he may ascend the Episcopal Chair; then he is put in the Chair, and a Prayer is made for him, that he may resemble the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles and Saints, and in the end he is Blessed in these words.

Benedictio ejusdem Sacerdotis.

POpulus te Honoret, adjuvet te Dominus, quicquid petieris præstet tibi Deus, cum honore, cum castitate, cum scientia, cum largitate, cum Charitate, cum Nobilitate. Dignus sis, Justus sis, Humilis sis, Sincerus sis, Apostolus Christi sis. Accipe Benedictionem & Apostolatum qui permaneat in die ista & in die futura. Angeli sint ad dexteram tuam, Apostoli Coronati ad sinistram: Ecclesia sit mater tua & altare, sit Deus Pater tuus, sint Angeli amici tui, sint Apostoli fratres tui & Apostolatus tui gradum custodiant. Confirmet te Deus in Justitia, in Sanctitate, in Ecclesia Sancta. Angeli recipiant te, & pax tecum indiscrepabilis, per Redemptorem Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, qui cum Patre & Spiritu Sancto vivit & regnat in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

‘**M**AY the people Honour thee, may God assist thee and grant thee whatsoever thou shalt ask of Him, with Honour, Chastity, Knowledge, Bounty, Charity, and Nobility. Be thou Worthy, Just, Humble, Sincere, and an Apostle of Christ. Receive a Blessing and an Apostleship which shall continue for this time and that which is to come. Let Angels be at thy right hand, and crowned Apostles at thy left. Let the Church and the Altar be thy Mother, and God thy Father. Let the Angels be thy Friends, and the Apostles thy Brethren, and guard the degree of thy Apostleship. May God strengthen thee in Justice, in Holiness, and in the Holy Church, and may Angels receive thee, and inseparable Peace be with thee, Through our Lord Jesus Christ, who with the Father and the Holy Spirit reigns and lives for ever and ever. Amen.

The Seventh Ritual has first the second Canon of the Fourth Council of *Carthage*, then the Exhortation to the people, then the Collects, *Oremus*, *Adesto* and *Propitiare*, then the Prayer of Consecration, and then the anointing of the hands, then follows the Communion Service.

The Eighth Ritual, begins the Office of Consecrating a Bishop with the Collect *Adesto*. Then follows a new Rite of giving the Gospel with these words:

Accipe.

A *Ceipe hoc Evangelium, & ito, doce omnes Gentes.*

R *Eceive this Gospel, and go, and teach all Nations.*

Then follows the *Propitiare*, and the Prayer of Consecration, and the Giving the Staff and Ring, without any more.

This Rite of delivering the Gospels, it seems was never generally received, for it is in none of the other Rituals published by *Morinus*, but is now in the Roman Pontifical.

The Ninth Ritual begins this Office with the Form in which the Kings of *France* did then choose their Bishops, then follows an Oath of Obedience to the Patriarchal See (no mention being made of the *Pope* or See of *Rome*,) then the Ring is Blessed with a particular Benediction, and it is given with the words in the Fourth Ritual. The Staff is next Blessed as in the Sixth Ritual, and given as in the Fourth Ritual. Then follow the Collects, *Oremus*, *Adesto*, and *Propitiare*, then the Prayer of Consecration as in the First Ritual, then follows another long Prayer, after which follows the Anointing of the hands and head, and the Blessing for the sevenfold Grace of the Holy Ghost. Then follows the Communion Service.

The Tenth Ritual, has only the Collects *Adesto*, and *Propitiare*, and the Prayer of Consecration with the Collects *Super Oblata*. And on the Margin, the giving of the Ring and Staff is set down, but with a very different and much later hand.

The Eleventh Ritual, begins with some rites that are not in the *Roman Pontifical*, tho by it all is to be done in the *Popes* name, by a Bishop Commissioned, by him called *Dominus Apostolicus*, or perhaps the *Pope* himself, that being the common way of designing the *Pope* in those Ages; the Dean or Arch-Presbyter, and the Clergy of the See, ask the *Pope* or his Delegate their Blessing three times, then they are asked some questions about the Elect Bishop, among which those are considerable. It is asked, if he be of that Church? to which it is answered, Yes. Then, what Function he is of?

Ans.

Answ. Of the Priestly. Quest. How many years has he been a Priest? Anf. Ten. Quest. Was he ever Married? Anf. Not. After these Questions are put, then the Decree of Electing him, which is addressed to the Pope, is read, by which they desire he may be Ordained their Bishop. This must be signed by them all. Then it is asked, if any Simoniacal promises be made? They answer, No. Then the Bishop Elect is brought to the Pope's Delegate, who first puts the same Questions to him that were before put to the Dean, and he answers them in the same manner. Then the *Introitus* is sung, after which follows the Collect *Adesto*, then the Questions that are in the Pontifical are put to him, and whereas in the former Rituals there was only a general promise of Obedience to the Metropolitan, put to the Elect Bishop, instead of that the two following Questions are put to him. 'Wilt thou reverently Receive, Teach, and Keep the Traditions of the Orthodox Fathers, and the Decretal Constitutions of the Holy and Apostolick See? Answer, 'I will. Wilt thou bear Faith and Subjection to St. Peter, (to whom the Lord gave the Power of binding and loosing,) and to his Vicars and Successors? Answer, I will. But these words not being thought full enough, they have since added (to Faith and Subjection) *and Obedience in all things, according to the Authority of the Canons*, then the Elect Bishop is examined about his Faith, the Questions being taken out of the three Creeds. After which he is blessed and clothed with the Episcopal Vestments, and the Epistle is read, 1 Tim. 3. Cap. Then his Sandals and Gloves are put on with Prayers at each of these Rites, then the Bishops laying the Gospels on his head and shoulders, and their hands on his head, the Ordainer says the Collects *Adesto*, *Oremus* and *Propitiare*, then follows the Prayer that in former Rituals is called the Consecration, but has no such Rubrick here, it has all that is in the first Ritual, only after the words *Calestis Unguenti Flore Sanctifica*, the Rite of Anointing the head with the words joined to it in the Sixth Ritual, is inserted, after which follows the rest of that Prayer: Next the hands are anointed, and words somewhat different from those in the Sixth Ritual are pronounced. Then follows a new Rite of putting the Chrism on his Thumb, with a Blessing joined to it, then the

Ring is blessed and given, and so is also the Staff, then the Kifs of Peace is given, and he is set down among the Bishops, and the Ordainer sits down and washes his hands and puts Incense in the Censer, and gives the Blessing, then follows the Service of the Communion.

To this Ritual *Morinus* had added an ancient piece of a Ritual which he found in a MS. at *Tholose* about the Election, Examination, and Ordination of Bishops in the *Roman* Church, which in all things agrees with the former, except in an Addition, which is also mentioned by *Alcuinus*. I shall set it down in *Latin* without a Translation, which in modesty I ought not to give: By it the Reader will see what the *Roman* Church gained by pressing the Celibate of the Clergy so much since they were suspected of such horrid Crimes, and were to be tryed about them. The words are, *Inquirat illum de quatuor Capitulis secundum Canones, id est, de Arsenoquita, quod est Coitus cum Masculo: pro Ancilla Deo sacrata quæ à Francis Nonna dicitur, pro quadrupedibus & muliere alio viro conjuncta, aut si conjugem habuit ex alio viro, quæ à Græcis dicitur Deuterogamia: & dum nihil eorum ipse vir conficius fuerit, Evangelius ad medium deductus jurat ipse Electus Archidiacono & posthæc traditur Subdiacono & pergit cum præfato Electo ad Aulam Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ, ibique supra ejus sacratissimum Corpus confirmet, quod non cognovisset superioris nominata capitula.*

And thus, if they were free of these Crimes which are not to be named, no other act of uncleanness was to be inquired after or stood upon: only the Pharisaical Spirit of that Age is to be observed, in that they reckon a Churchmans having been married to another mans wife, which is forbidden by no Law of God or Nature, in the same Predicament with those Abominations which God punished with Fire and Brimstone from Heaven.

The Twelfth and Thirteenth Rituals have not the office of Consecrating Bishops in them.

The Fourteenth Ritual begins with the Decree of Election, directed to the Metropolitan, without that previous examination that is in the Eleventh; then follows the examination of the Faith and manners of the Bishop Elect, then the people pray he may be Ordained, after which two Bishops begin

*Li. De Div.
Offic. See inter
opera Bernar.
Con. ad Clerum,
prope finem.*

gin the *Litany* (this is in no ancienter Ritual,) then the Hymn *Veni Creator* is begun (which is also new, being in no other Ritual,) after which they lay the Gospels on his head and lay on their hands; and the Metropolitan says the Collect *Oremus*; then follows the *Propitiare*, which is called the Benediction, then follows the Prayer *Deus bonorum*, after which there is another long Prayer that is in no other Ritual, for a blessing in the Function to which he is Ordained, then follows the blessing of the *Sevenfold Grace*, then the Consecration of the Bishops hands with the Oyl and the Chrism, then the Chrism is put on his head, (as the Oyl was by other Rituals put on his head in the midst of the Prayer *Deus bonorum omnium*) then follows a new Rite of putting the Miter on his head, but no words are pronounced with it, then the Ring is blessed and given; so also is the *Staff* blessed and given; then there is a Prayer about the putting him in his Chair; after which he is put in his Chair and a new Prayer is used, and all ends with the Blessing that is at the end of the Sixth Ritual.

The Fifteenth Ritual has no considerable variation from the former, only in the beginning the Bishop that presents the Bishop Elect says, *Reverende Pater, postulat sancta Mater Ecclesia ut hunc præsentem Prebyterum ad onus Episcopatus sublevetis*. 'Reverend Father, the Holy Church our Mother desires that you may raise this Priest to the burden of a Bishoprick. Then the Consecration is made with the Collects *Adesto, Oremus* and *Propitiare*, said with a middle voice. Then follows the other Prayer in which his head is anointed, which in this Ritual is called a *Preface*, tho in most of the former it be called *the Consecration*, then follows the blessing of the Staff; in the end the Blessing is given to the Bishop.

The Last Ritual agrees in all things with the Pontifical as it now is, only the words *Receive the Holy Ghost* are in none of these Antient Rituals which *Morinus* saw, tho the latest of those be not above three hundred years old.

To these I shall add an account of the Consecration of a Bishop, as it is in the *Ordo Romanus*.

The Office begins with the Decree bearing the Election of the Bishop, with a desire that he be Ordained as soon as may be, directed to the Bishops of the Province, then follows the

First Canon of the Fourth Council of *Carthage*, after which is the *Metropolitans* Letter approving the Election, and desiring the Bishop Elect to be brought to him; when he is brought he is blessed in Order to his Consecration, then the *Antiphona* and the *Introitus* are said, after this follows the examination of his Faith and Manners, as in the Eleventh Ritual. Then the Epistle is read, after which his Gloves and Sandals, and his *Dalmatica* (a Veltment in the fashion of a Cross, first used in *Dalmatia*,) are put on, and Collects are used in every one of these; then follows the Exhortation that is in the ancientest of *Morinus* his Rituals: after which two Bishops lay the Gospels on his neck and Shoulders, and all the Bishops lay on their hands on his head, and the Ordainer says the Prayer *Adesto*, then the *Oremus*, which in the Rubrick, is called *Præfatio*, then the *Propitiare* which the Rubrick calls *Oratio*, then follows the Prayer called in other Rituals the *Consecration*, but in this it is called *Præfatio*, which is the same that was set down in the ancientest Ritual; after *Sanctifica* the Chrism is poured on the Bishops head, in the Form of a Cross, with the words in the sixth Ritual. Then follows the anointing of his hands, after that the putting the Chrism on his Thumb, then the Blessing and giving the Ring and Staff, then follows the Blessing and Communion, then follow the Letters that testify the Bishops Consecration, called *Litteræ Formatae*, then the Pope's Edict to the Bishop Ordained, containing very wholesome admonitions; then there is a Sermon and an Exhortation, which contain many excellent Instructions and Directions which deserve to be often read and well considered.

From all the Premises it clearly appears, that the Church of *Rome* did never tye these Offices to any constant unalterable Forms, but that in all Ages there very great alterations were made. And what was more anciently the Prayer of Consecration, was of later times called [*Præfatio*] a Preface, and what was in the ancient Rituals only a Prayer for the Bishops that were to be Ordained, is now the Prayer of Consecration; for now in the *Roman Pontifical*, all that is said in the Consecration of a Bishop when they lay hands on his head, is *Receive the Holy Ghost*, and then follows the Collect *Propitiare*. So that it is very unreasonable, and an impudent

udent thing, in the Emiffaries of that Church, to raife fcruples about our Ordinations, becaufe we have changed the Forms, fince they have made many more and greater Alterations of the more Primitive and Ancient Forms.

With this I fhould end this *Appendix*, which already grows too big; but I will only add one Particular more about the Oath that is in the Pontifical, to be fworn by all Bifhops. It is in none of all thefe ancient Rituals, nor ever mentioned by *Morinus*; fo that it feems, though it was at firft made by *Pope Gregory* the Seventh, yet it was long before it was generally received or put into the Rituals. For the Reader's further fatisfaction, I fhall here fet down all I can find about Oaths made to *Popes*. At firft there was nothing exacted but a Promise of Obedience, fuch as all Inferiours gave to Superiours. Then there was a particular Vow made by fuch as the *Popes* fent in Miffions. The firft Instance of this is an Oath which *Boniface* Bifhop of *Mentz*, (who is called the *He died Anno* Apoftle of the *Germans*) fwore to *Pope Gregory* the Second, 755 about the beginning of the Eighth Century, which follows as it is among his *Epiftles*.

In nomine Domini Dei & Salvatoris noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, Imperante Domino Leone à Deo coronato magno Imperatore, Anno ſexto, poſt Conſulatum ejus Anno ſexto, ſed & Conſtantino Magno Imperatore ejus Filio, Anno quarto, Indictione ſexta.

Promitto Ego Bonifacius, Gratia Dei Epifcopus, vobis Beato *Post Epist.*
 Petro Apoftolorum Principi, vicarioque tuo beato *Pape* 117.
Gregorio, ſucceſſoribusque ejus, per Patrem & Filium & Spiritum Sanctum, Trinitatem inſeparabilem, & hoc ſacraſſimum L. i. vit. c. 19.
Corpus tuum, Me omnem fidem & puritatem ſanctæ fidei Catholice exhibere: & in Unitate ejuſdem fidei, Deo cooperante, Magunt. p. 343.
perſiſtere: in qua omnis Chriſtianorum ſalus, ſine dubio eſſe comprobatur: nullo modo me contra Unitatem Communis & Univerſalis Eccleſie, ſuadente quopiam, conſentire: ſed ut dixi, fidem & puritatem meam atque concurſum tibi & utilitatibus tue Eccleſie,
cui à Domino Deo Potestas ligandi ſolvendique data eſt, & præ- Mut. 16.
dicto vicario tuo, atque ſucceſſoribus ejus, per omnia exhibere. Sed Job. 21.
& ſi cognovero Antiſtites contra Inſtituta antiqua ſanctorum Patrum converſari, cum eis nullam habere communionem aut conjuncti-
onem.

A.D. 5. 1.

onem: Sed magis, si valuerō prohibere, prohibeam: si minus vero fideliter statim Domino meo Apostolico renunciabo. Quod si, quod absit, contra hujus promissionis meæ seriem aliquid facere quolibet modo, seu ingenio, vel occasione tentaverō, reus inveniar in æterno judicio; Ultionem Ananiæ & Sapphiræ incurram, qui vobis, etiam de rebus propriis, fraudem facere, vel falsum dicere præsumperunt. Hoc autem Indiculum Sacramenti Ego Bonifacius exiguus Episcopus, manu propria scripsi, atque positum supra sacratissimum corpus tuum, ut superius leguntur, Deo teste & iudice, præstiti Sacramentum, quod & conservare promitto.

In the Name of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, in the Sixth Year of Leo the Great, crowned by God Emperour, the Sixth Year after his Consulat, and the Fourth Year of Constantine the Great, Emperour, his Son, the Sixth Indiction.

I Boniface, by the Grace of God Bishop, promise to you St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and to thy Blessed Vicar Pope Gregory, and his Successors, by the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the Inseparable Trinity, and by this thy most sacred Body, That I shall shew forth all the Faith and Purity of the Holy Catholick Faith, and that, God assisting me, I shall persist in the Unity of the same Faith, in which the Salvation of all Christians does without all doubt consist; and that I shall in no sort, and upon no persuasion, concur against the Unity of the Common and Universal Church; but that as I have said, I will shew forth my Faith and Purity, and give my Concurrence in all things to thee, and the Advantages of thy Church, (to whom the Power of Binding and Loosing is given by the Lord God) and to thy Vicar and his Successors. And if I shall know the Bishops carry themselves contrary to the ancient Appointment of the Holy Fathers, I shall have no Communion nor Conjunction with them; but rather, if I can, I shall hinder it; and, if I cannot, I shall presently give notice of it faithfully to My Apostolical Lord. And if (which God forbid) I shall endeavour to do any thing against the Contents of this my Promise, any manner of way, either on design or by accident, let me be found guilty in the Eternal Judgment, and let me incur the Punishment of Ananias and Sapphira, who presumed to lye and deal fraudulently (even about their own Goods) to thee. This

This Breviate of an Oath, I *Boniface*, a small Bishop, have written with my own Hand, and having laid it on thy most Blessed Body, as is before mentioned, I have made my Oath, God being my Witness and Judge, which I promise to keep.

But it appears from another Letter written in the Twenty sixth Year of the Reign of *Constantine* the Emperor, Two and twenty Years after the taking the former Oath, which was in the Fourth Year of *Constantine*, that he had taken another Oath eight Years before that; for he begins that Epistle, written to *Pope Zacharias*, with these words.

Postquam me ante Annos prope triginta sub familiaritate & Epist. 139.
servitio Apostolicæ sedis, annuente & jubente venerandæ
memoriæ antistite Apostolico Gregorio anteriore voto constrinxi, &c.

‘ **A**lmost Thirty Years ago I bound my self by a former Vow under the Observance and Service of the Apostolical See, by the Consent and Command of *Pope Gregory* of venerable Memory, &c.

This is all I can find before *Pope Gregory* the Seventh: But he, pretending to a higher Title, not only over Bishops, but Secular Princes, made some Princes swear Allegiance to him, (it ought to be called by no other Name) for the first part of the Oath in the Pontifical, of Being faithful and obedient to the Pope, being in no Council against him, and assisting him to defend the Papacy, and the Royalties of *St. Peter*, &c. was sworn both by *Richard* Prince of *Capua*, and *Robert* Prince of *Calabria* and *Sicily*, when they received Investiture from that Pope in those Dominions. But the Oath which the Bishops swore, is almost the same with that which is in the Pontifical, as we find it taken by the Bishop of *Aquileia*, after the Sixth Roman Council, in which *Berengarius* was condemned under that same Pope.

Lib. 1. Epist.
Greg. post. Ep.
21. lib. 8. post.
Ep. 1.

Afterwards the Council of *Lateran*, under *Pope Paschal* Ann. 1079. the Second, appointed a more modest Oath in the Form of an *Anathematism*, in these words:

Anathematizo

Ann. 1002.

Anatematizo omnem hæresin & præcipue eam quæ statum præsentis Ecclesiæ perturbat, quæ docet & astruit *Anathema contemnendum & Ecclesiæ ligamenta spernenda esse* : Promitto autem Obedientiam Apostolicæ sedis Pontifici Domino Paschali, ejusque successoribus, sub testimonio Christi & Ecclesiæ : Affirmans quod affirmat, damnans quod damnat sancta Universalis Ecclesia.

I Anathematize every Heresie, and in particular that which disturbs the State of the present Church, which teaches and asserts, That an *Anathema* is to be contemned, and the Censures of the Church to be despised : And I promise Obedience to the Apostolick See, and to our Lord Pope Paschal and his Successors, under the Testimony (or *in the sight*) of Christ and the Church, affirming all that the Holy Universal Church affirms, and condemning all that she condemns.

This Oath (if the References which *Labbe* and *Cossartius* make to the fifth and sixth Epistles of Pope Paschal be well grounded) was all that was imposed by that Pope ; and that not on all Bishops, but only on Archbishops, to whom he sent the Pall ; and yet from the first words of these Epistles it appears, that the Princes and the States of *Christendom* looked on it with an amazement, as a new and unheard of thing. The one is to the Archbishop of *Palermo* in *Sicily*, and the other is directed to the Archbishop of *Poland*, (I suppose it was of *Gnesna*) and they both are almost the same, only the latter has a great deal more than the former. They begin with these words.

Ep. 5, & 6.
Pasch. 2.

Significasti Regem, & Regni Majores admiratione permotos, quod pallium tibi ab Apocrisariis nostris tali conditione oblatum fuerit. si Sacramentum quod à nobis scriptum detulerant jurares.

Thou hast signified to me, That the King and the Chief of the Kingdom are amazed that the Pall was offered to thee by our Legats on this Condition, That thou shouldst swear the Oath which they brought to thee written by us.

And

And if any Body desire to be satisfied about the excellent Reasonings with which the infallible Chair directed his Pen, he may read the rest of those Epistles.

The next Step made in this Oath, was by Pope Gregory the Ninth, which is in the Canon Law, where the Oath is set down to be taken by all Bishops, which differs from that in the Pontifical in these Heads. *The Royalties of St. Peter* are not mentioned in it, nor those Clauses of every Bishops sending one in his name to Rome, in case he could not go in person; nor is that of not alienating the Bishops Lands without the Popes consent in it. But when these additions were made, I do not find. The Importance of that Oath is little Considered, since few among us read the *Roman Pontifical* carefully, therefore I shall set it down with a Translation of it, from which it may be easily inferred, what all Princes may, or ought to expect from persons so tied to the Pope, since a fuller and more formal Allegiance, can be sworn by no Subject to their Prince than is sworn in it to the Pope.

Lib. 2. Decret.
Greg. Tit. 24.
c. 4. set out
by him, Anno
1236.

Forma Juramenti.

EGO N. Electus ecclesiæ N. ab hac hora inantea fidelis & obediens ero Beato Petro Apostolo sanctæque Romanæ Ecclesiæ, & Domino nostro, Domino Papæ N. suisque successoribus canonice intrantibus. Non ero in consilio, aut consensu vel facto, ut vitam perdant, aut membrum; seu capiantur mala captione, aut in eos violenter manus quomodolibet ingerantur; vel injuriæ aliquæ inferantur quovis quæsito colore. Consilium vero, quod mihi credituri sunt, per se, aut nuncios suos, seu literas, ad eorum damnum, me sciente, nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum, & Regalia Sancti Petri, adjutor eis ero ad retinendum & defendendum, salvo meo ordine, contra omnem hominem. Legatum Apostolicæ sedis in eundo & redeundo honorifice tractabo, & in suis necessitatibus adjurabo. Jura, honores, privilegia, & auctoritatem Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, Domini nostri Papæ, & Successorum prædictorum conservare, defendere, augere, promovere curabo, neque ero in consilio, vel facto, seu tractatu in quibus contra ipsum Dominum nostrum, vel eandem Romanam ecclesiam, aliqua sinistra, vel præjudicialia personarum, juris, honoris, status, & potestatis eorum machinentur.

ter. Et, si talia à quibuscunque tractari, vel procurari novero, impediam hoc pro posse; & quanto citius potero, significabo eidem Domino nostro, vel alteri, per quem possit ad ipsius notitiam pervenire. Regulas Sanctorum Patrum, decreta, Ordinationes seu dispositiones, reservationes, provisiones, & mandata Apostolica, totis viribus observabo, & faciam ab aliis observari. Hæreticos, Schismaticos, & Rebelles eidem Domino nostro, vel successoribus prædictis, pro posse persequar, & impugnabo. Vocatus ad Synodum, veniam, nisi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditio. Apostolorum limina singulis triennis personaliter per me ipsum visitabo; & Domino nostro, ac successoribus præfata, rationem reddam de toto meo pastoralis officio, ac de rebus omnibus ad meam Ecclesiam statum, ad Cleri & populi disciplinam, animarum denique quæ meæ fidei tradita sunt, salutem, quævis modo pertinentibus: Et vicissim mandata Apostolica humiliter recipiam, & quam diligentissime exequar. Quod si legitimo impedimento detentus fuero, præfata omnia adimplebo per certum nuncium ad hoc speciale mandatum habentem, de gremio mei Capituli, aut alium in dignitate Ecclesiastica constitutum, seu alias personatum habentem, aut, his mihi deficientibus, per diæcesanum sacerdotem; & clero deficiente omnino, per aliquem alium Presbyterum secularem, vel Regularem spectatæ probitatis & Religionis, de supradictis omnibus plenè instructum. De huiusmodi autem impedimento docebo per legitimas probationes, ad sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam Cardinalem proponentem in Congregatione sacri Concilii, per supradictum Nuncium transmittendas.

Possessiones vero ad mensam meam pertinentes non vendam, nec donabo, nequa impignorabo; nec de novo infundabo, vel aliquo modo alienabo, etiam cum consensu Capituli Ecclesie meæ, inconsulto Romano Pontifice; & si ad aliquam alienationem devenero; penas in quadam super hoc edita Constitutione contentas, eo ipso incurrere volo.

IN. Elect of the Church N. from this hour forward, shall be faithful and obedient to St. Peter the Apostle, and the Holy Roman Church, and our Lord the Pope N. and his Successors, that shall enter canonically. I shall be in no Council, Consent, or Fact, that they lose life or member, or be taken with any ill taking, or that violent hands be any way laid on them, or any injuries be done them on any pretended colour. And whatever Council they shall trust me

'me with, either by themselves, their *Nuncio's*, or Letters ;
 'I shall knowingly reveal to none to their hurt. I shall help
 'them to retain and defend the *Roman* Papacy, and the Roy-
 'alties of *St. Peter* against all men, saving my own Order.
 'I shall treat the Legate of the Apostolick See honourably,
 'both in his going and coming, and shall help him in his ne-
 'cessities. I shall take care to preserve, defend, increase and
 'promote the Rights, Honours, Privileges ; and Authority
 'of the Holy *Roman* Church of our Lord the Pope, and his
 'Successors foresaid. I shall neither be in Council, Fact, or
 'Treaty, in which any thing shall be contrived against the
 'said our Lord, or the same *Roman* Church, or any thing
 'that may be prejudicial to their Persons, Right, Honour,
 'State, or Power. And if I know such things to be treated
 'or procured by any body, I shall hinder it all I can, and as
 'soon as is possible shall signifie it to the said our Lord, or any
 'other by whom it may come to his knowledge. The Rules
 'of the Holy Fathers, and the Decrees, Orders, or Appoint-
 'ments, Reservations, Provisions, or Mandates Apostolical,
 'I shall observe with all my strength, and make them to be
 'observed by others, and I shall, according to my power,
 'persecute and oppose all Hereticks, Schismaticks and Rebels,
 'against the said our Lord, and his Successors. I shall come
 'to a Council when called, if I be not hindred by some Ca-
 'nonical Impediment ; I shall personally visit the Thresholds
 'of the Apostles every Third Year, and shall give an account
 'to our Lord and his said Successors of my whole Pastoral
 'Charge, and of all things that shall any way belong to the
 'State of my Church, and the Discipline of my Clergy and
 'People, and the Salvation of the Souls committed to my
 'trust. And I shall on the other hand humbly receive and
 'diligently execute the Apostolical Command. And if I be
 'detained by any lawful Impediment, I shall perform the
 'foresaid things by a special Messenger, that shall have my
 'particular Mandate, being either of my Chapter, or in
 'some Ecclesiastical Dignity, or in some Parsonage ; or these
 'failing, by any Priest of my Diocesis, or failing any of these,
 'by any Priest secular or regular, of signal Probity and Re-
 'ligion, who shall be fully instructed in all things aforesaid.
 'And I shall give lawful proofs of the foresaid Impediment

AN APPENDIX.

‘ which I shall send by the foresaid Messenger to the Cardinal
‘ of the Holy *Roman* Church, that is Proponent in the Con-
‘ gregation of the Holy Council. I shall neither sell, give,
‘ Mortgage, nor invest of new, nor any way alienate the pos-
‘ sessions that belong to my Table, notwithstanding the con-
‘ sent of the Chapter of my Church, without consulting the
‘ Pope of *Rome*. And if I make any such Alienation, I am
‘ willing to incur the Penalties contained in a Constitution
‘ thereupon set forth.

The Inferences that may be drawn from this Oath are so obvious, that I shall not trouble the Reader with any, knowing that every one will easily make them.

FINIS.

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